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HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA YEARLY MEETING.

JULIA S. WHITE.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting occupies rather a unique position among the American Yearly Meetings. Situated as it is in a section of the country in which slavery was for so long a paramount issue, and lying as it does too far south to be much influenced by the modern currents of population, there has resulted from these two causes a sort of provincialism among North Carolina Friends, which characterizes them wherever they go and which has made their history in many respects unlike that of any other Yearly Meeting on the continent.

For the same causes Friends of North Carolina have had their individual problems. To be sure Baltimore Yearly Meeting is not far distant, but it is largely made up of an urban membership, while in Carolina Friends have always been, and still are, of the sturdy yeoman class. But with this great diversity in constituency there has been no lack of co-operation and help on the part of Baltimore; for with the work of the Baltimore Association in North Carolina immediately after the war between the States, the readers of this article are thoroughly familiar in the graphic account which Allen Jay has given in his autobiography.

The first Friend in North Carolina was one Henry Phillips, who had been a member in New England previous to his coming to North Carolina in 1665; though the real instigator of Quakerism among the early settlers was William Edmundson, of Ireland, making his first visit in 1672. This "traveling Friend," after much hardship reached a place probably not far distant from where Hertford, the county seat of Perquimans now stands, and in a three days' stay held two religious services. One of these two was at the home of Henry Phillips, who, with his family, had wept for joy at the coming of Edmundson, not having seen a Quaker for seven years. The second of these services was at the home and by the invitation of one Francis Toms,

a justice of the peace, who, with his wife, had at the first Meeting "received the truth with gladness." Edmundson was followed in a few months by George Fox himself. And no doubt Fox's coming had much to do in fostering and establishing the church, not only while in their midst, but by his letters of advice written after his return to England.

Of Fox's first visit, Bancroft says, "A Quarterly Meeting of discipline was established, and the sect of which opposition to spiritual authority is the badge, was the *first* to organize a religious government in North Carolina." That the first Religious Meeting in the State was a Quaker Meeting is sanctioned in an article by the Bishop of Eastern Carolina, the Right Reverend Joseph Blount Cheshire, a man who has carefully investigated the matter at first hand. He says, "Quakerism was the only organized form of religion in the colony, with no rival worship among the people for the rest of the seventeenth century (1672-1700). * * * It drew to itself a number of the intelligent and well-disposed inhabitants of Perquimans and Pasquotank. * * * These zealous and self-sacrificing men deserve to be held in honorable memory, who at the expense of so much time, labor and bodily suffering, cultivated the spiritual harvest in that distant and unattractive field. Quakerism did *not begin* (he is refuting the idea that Durant was a Quaker) the work of settlement, and of reclaiming the wilderness for civilization, but it has the *greater* honor of having brought some organized form of Christianity to the infant colony, and of having cared for those wandering sheep whom others neglected."

Four years after his first visit, Edmundson again visited Carolina, and of this time (1676) says, "Friends were finely settled there," while on his first visit, in 1672, he had said, "They seem to have little or no religion, and sat down in the Meetings smoking their pipes." In 1679, Friends made a petition to the General Assembly which would indicate some sort of organization among them. It is not till 1680, however, that the records begin. In that year Christopher Nicholson and Ann Attwood announce their intention of marriage before a "General Meeting." These early records are more or less incomplete; for they were not collected till 1728.

The first Yearly Meeting of which we have record was held in 1708, but we have the following statement in the Quarterly Meeting records, which fix the beginning of the Yearly Meeting definitely ten years earlier at 1698: "At a Quarterly Meeting at the house of Henry White's, this 4th day of the 4th month, 1698, it is unanimously agreed by Friends that all the Quarterly Meetings be altered, etc., * * * and the last 7th day of the 7th Month in every year to be the Yearly Meeting for this country at the house of Francis Toms, the elder, etc." This minute made the first Yearly Meeting of Friends in North Carolina, held Seventh Month, 1698, since which time, so far as we know, it has been held without interruption for two hundred and eleven years.

The Yearly Meeting Minutes of 1708 make most interesting reading as the following extracts will show. "The members of ye said meeting has appointed William Everigin Clark of this Yearly Meeting, instead of Gabriel Newby, by reason they think it will be more ease for him, and not for any dislike they have to his (Gabriel's) being Clarke." "The judgment of this meeting, considering the indecency of Friends in not keeping of their places in meeting—that Friends keep their places as much as possible, and not run in and out in times of worship and likewise in meetings of business."

At this meeting it was decided that the Yearly Meeting is too large when any and everyone is allowed to attend. So twelve *men* (no women) are appointed to consititute the Yearly Meeting. Three years later (1711) Emanual Lowe, a son-in-law of John Archdale, was not allowed to take his seat among the select twelve, "the said Lowe having acted divers things contrary to our ways and privileges." What Lowe had done was stated in the appointment of the committee to examine into his action "in stirring up a parcel of men in arms, and going to Pamlico, and from thence to Chowan in a barkentine with men and force of arms contrary to our holy principles." This, of course, means that Lowe took part in the Cary Rebellion, a matter not so much to be wondered at when we note that Cary was also a son-in-law of John Archdale, and would naturally have much in common with Emanual Lowe.

In 1709 the *only* business before the Yearly Meeting was the settlement of a difficulty between Francis Toms and his son-in-law, Gabriel Newby. The father-in-law had made accusation of "Gabriel as being wholly dead as to his ministry to him, and he receives no benefit by his ministry, and says he sways the whole meeting how he pleases, whether it be right or wrong." On the contrary, "Further ye said Francis Toms contrary to good order used amongst us, set with his hat on when Gabriel was at prayer, and when he was preaching turned his back to him as a dislike to his testimony." The meeting secured from each a promise to "live in peace and love and pass by all offenses that are past, and not to tear up anything that is past whereby controversy may arise."

There was only one session of the Yearly Meeting till 1727, when *two* days are needed. In 1731 *three* days are found necessary to complete the business, and from that time till the present the sessions have increased in number until now we have nine or ten as the case may require.

As to the time of holding the Yearly Meeting there has been little diversity. The first session was held Seventh Month (our present Ninth Month), but was soon changed to Eighth Month. A change in the calendar in 1752 put the Yearly Meeting in the Tenth Month. In 1813 it was changed to Eleventh Month, and thus it continued till 1880, when for the first time the sessions were held in our present Eighth Month. The following year (1881) proved to be the last year in which the sessions were held in Eleventh Month; for since 1882 the Yearly Meeting has assembled on the Fourth-day following the first Second-day in the Eighth Month.

Where the Yearly Meetings have been held is more or less of an index as to the parts of the State in which the church has been strongest. The first (1708) mention of place is "Perquimans." In 1741 Friends assembled at "Old Neck" (Perquimans County); in 1747 "at the meeting-house at Francis Toms." This much is sure, that for nearly a century (1698-1787) the Yearly Meetings were held within the limits of what was then, and is now, Eastern Quarter. But when the great migratory wave (Circa, 1750) of Friends from New England, Pennsylvania

and other points North had swept into our borders and organized themselves, and asserted their powers, then the Friends of Eastern Carolina shared their power and authority, and a new Quarterly Meeting was established in the central part of the State, which, by way of distinction, was called Western Quarter. (1759.) The migratory spirit was in the air, and the old Teutonic blood which had impelled Carolina's first settlers to cross the Virginia border, now impelled many of their descendants to move from the low-lands to the Piedmont Section of the State. Hence, so early as 1776, there is request made to the Yearly Meeting that it alternate between the Eastern and Western Quarters, or that a division be made in the Yearly Meeting. In 1784 the request was repeated, but not till 1786 was it granted. Thus for eighty-eight years was the Yearly Meeting held in Eastern Carolina. Then followed (1787-1812) a quarter century in which the Yearly Meeting alternated between Perquimans (or on four occasions Pasquotank) and Guilford counties. In 1813 the meeting was fixed at New Garden (Guilford County), where it was held till 1883, except in the year 1880, when Friends assembled in Tennessee. From 1883-1904, the town of High Point was the rallying point, but since that date, the sessions have been held to much satisfaction at Guilford College (New Garden Meeting).

The picture of the *first* Yearly Meeting-*House,* though doubtless familiar to many, is reproduced in this number of the BULLETIN. A rather dilapidated frame building at the time the picture was taken, and the minutes record that when the new brick building was completed, the old frame one was sold for $145.00, and the purchaser was released from the payment of part of that upon reporting that the timbers did not prove to be as sound as was expected. The second Yearly Meeting-House —the brick one—was remodeled, and became the first King Hall of Guilford College. The large brick Yearly Meeting building at High Point has also been disposed of, and so there is no distinct Yearly Meeting building at the present time.

The growth and increase in membership or an actual count is impossible to determine. Early in the eighteenth century (1703), Governor Walker tries to arouse the Church of England

to extend care to Carolina, and among other things says: "We have an assembly to sit the 3rd of November, and there is *above half* of the burgesses that are chosen that are *Quakers,* and have declared their designs of making void the act for establishing the church, etc." [see page 18.] That *"above half"* the burgesses were of the Quaker faith is about the nearest approximation we can secure as to their *relative* numbers in the colony. This, too, was after the "golden era" of Quakerism in Carolina, which culminated in the governorship of John Archdale (1695-1697). However, by Quaker methods, the growth of the church can be noted as follows: From 1682-1759 (for seventy-seven years) there is only one Quarterly Meeting, namely, Eastern. In 1759 Western Quarter was set up. In 1787 New Garden; in 1788 Contentnea; in 1791 Bush River (South Carolina); in 1802 Lost Creek; in 1803 Westfield; in 1818 Deep River; in 1819 Southern; in 1870 Friendsville (Tennessee); in 1889 Yadkin Valley, and in 1898 Surry. Of these Bush River maintained itself until about 1812, when a large majority of the members moved to Miami, Ohio. After Lost Creek had set off Friendsville Quarter, it became a vexed problem to the Yearly Meeting with its strife and insubordination, and finally was laid down. Friendsville Quarter comprised the Friends of Tennessee, and they have in recent years (1897) been transferred to Wilmington Yearly Meeting. Westfield Quarter was laid down in 1833, but its membership became the nucleus of the two newer Quarterly Meetings, Yadkin Valley and Surry.

The following facts in regard to the growth and extent of the Yearly Meeting are deduced from the above data.

At the close of the seventeenth century, one Quarterly Meeting.

At the close of the eighteenth century, five Quarterly Meetings.

By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Yearly Meeting contained as many Quarterly Meetings as it now has (eight), and had extended its territory as far as it reached for the next fifty years.

By the end of the nineteenth century it had transferred a

large Quarterly Meeting to Wilmington, and had lost several members by separation in Eastern Quarter; but with all this maintained itself with growing vigor.

It may seem irrelevant, but as so many Friends in the Middle and Far West trace their ancestry back to Carolina, they may find the *names* of the different people who have served as clerk an interesting study. They are as follows: Gabriel Newby, William Everigin, John Symons, Joseph Robinson, Francis Nixon, Jacob Wilson, Josiah White, Thomas White, son of Joseph, George Walton, Benjamin Albertson, Levi Munden, Exum Newby, Enoch Macy, Thomas Jordan, Barnabas Coffin, Jeremiah Hubbard, Nathan Mendenhall, Aaron Stalker, John R. Hubbard, Nereus Mendenhall, Josiah Nicholson, Isham Cox, and Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, the last named having served continuously in that capacity since 1886. This list is also worthy of study; for it must needs give us a "bead roll of saints of God Almighty's making," who were not *all* and perhaps but few *ministers;* and it is the latter class which most frequently make the "bead rolls."

The first Yearly Meeting minute makes the following regulation: "The members of each Monthly Meeting belonging to this Yearly Meeting shall give an account to every Quarterly Meeting of ye state of their Monthly Meeting, and ye members appointed by the Quarterly Meeting to bring the State of ye quarterly to ye next Yearly Meeting." So far as known this is the first disciplinary measure, though when a discipline is formally adopted, in 1755 reference is made to a discipline adopted in 1704. In the minutes of 1727 is the statement that "several queries were read over," and there must have been a few, at least not unlike those which were in use at the time of the adoption of the Uniform Discipline. So early as 1715, there is complaint that the "Meetings for worship and discipline are not so well attended," a phrase which has sounded in the ear of many who read this, ever since they can remember. In 1716 "superfluity of apparel" is a matter of much concern, and a year later (1717) directions are given that there shall be no "provision" made at funerals; that is, no "victuals or drink be provided except as the case may

require." In 1740 sleeping in meeting is complained of. Other matters of discipline seem to come very near an infringement of one's own personal rights, as the following will show—"no Friend can wear a wig without the consent of his Monthly Meeting." * That this ruling of the Yearly Meeting is regarded, is proven by the records of the Perquimans Friends, where such a request was *not granted* by the Monthly Meeting. Some years later a similar request was made in the same Monthly Meeting, and this *was* granted with the advice "to wear a plain one."

By 1780 the Queries had much the same form as when the Query system was done away. There was always careful inquiry in regard to the attendance of meetings and the preservation of love and unity. Many of the other queries varied with the times, especially those with reference to slaves, to war, and to the use of spirituous liquors.

For a century or more of the existence of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, the reading of the queries and answers, and a consideration of the "state of society" formed the greater part of the Yearly Meeting's proceedings. The "weighty deliberation" of which they so often speak was carefully given and Friends were given ample opportunity to express their concerns in regard to different phases of the church work; and such expressions then, as now, were frequently embodied in an epistle of advice sent down to the subordinate meetings.

So early as 1776, the ruling is made that the queries must be answered accurately and *one* by *one,* definite inquiry is made in regard to memorials and new meeting-houses; in fact, everything which will keep the Yearly Meeting informed of work in every part of its domain.

This custom which Friends had, and still maintain, of reporting from year to year the passing of those of their number who have held positions of honor and trust in the church, and in their community, and the writing of memorials for those of special

*Is it not likely that the wigs here referred to were those worn for ornament in accordance with the fashion of the day? The prohibition was not peculiar to North Carolina; it was probably very general, as a similar prohibition is found in the Minutes of Sandwich Monthly Meeting (Mass.), 2nd mo., 1722.—Ed.

distinction is a custom which must not be allowed to cease, or even to wane; for such a "bead roll" is invaluable to the student of history.

Despite the effort which it must have cost the Friends in North Carolina in its early history with their insufficient education and their slips in grammar and penmanship, the majority of them seem conscious of the fact that they were making history, and throughout the records there is a *note* of carefulness, whether it was in reference to the keeping of the records or whether in the discharge of duty or appointment, or in the *adherence* to principle, or in the administration of their own private affairs. As proof of the above it may be noted that in the days when Elias Hicks was creating unrest and separations, the Friends of North Carolina produced a paper on the Divinity of Christ, and had ten thousand copies of the same scattered throughout the State. Also, when persons were appointed to attend the Yearly Meeting, they were remiss in duty if they did not attend *all* of its sessions.

In 1783 is the following minute: "In case of Freinds keeping taverns, and retailing any kind of spirituous liquors at courts, vendues, etc., coming under our solid consideration, we do give it as our judgment that no Friend in unity be concerned therein, except in particular cases to be judged of in the Monthly Meeting."

An interesting episode which runs through the minutes of several years about 1830, is a concern which originated at Deep River Meeting. It seems that some non-members had been burying their dead in the Friends' burying ground, and had put up "grave stones." * Some of the Friends had wittingly or unwittingly followed this example; hence the complaint to the Yearly Meeting. After much agitation and requests to the Friends to "remove the stones," it seems that little was accomplished, unless it be that a few of the stones were buried deeper so that they were not quite so conspicious.

During the years immediately preceding 1844, the minutes

*The prohibition regarding gravestones dates from about the middle of the 18th century. "Gravestones requested to be removed" occurs in Minutes of Sandwich Monthly Meeting (Mass.), 4th mo., 1761.—Ed.

of North Carolina Yearly Meeting manifest a most kindly and helpful feeling toward the Friends of Virginia. All through the years of decline in that Yearly Meeting, North Carolina is careful to send not only the usual epistolary greeting, but also a large committee of its most influential members. The touch of sympathy is very manifest, and their sturdy encouragement and readiness to help must have been worth much to the Virginia Yearly Meeting.

No money considerations find their way into the deliberations of North Carolina Yearly Meeting for more than a quarter century. In 1735 a subscription is taken (not in the meeting however) to build a meeting-house. In 1743 the first assessment is made thus: "Each Monthly Meeting raise a sum of money according to each man's liberality." It is matter for congratulation that this money was for the reprinting of 'Fox's Primmers* for the benefit of teaching children and others." In 1778 the first real tax was made, and this was levied to pay lawyers whom the Friends had employed in behalf of manumitted slaves who had been seized. The tax was as follows: Eastern Quarter, £450, and Western, £150. This shows that either the monied Friends, or else a majority of them, were still within the limits of Eastern Quarter. All through Revolutionary times Friends' "sufferings" are carefully reported from year to year. The maximum sum was reached in 1784 and was £4,134. In 1792 the Yearly Meeting stock is formally instituted, and during the great anti-slavery agitation, North Carolina Friends contributed *largely* in the deportation of the negro. Indeed, the Yearly Meeting to rid its membership of slavery became itself a large slave-owner, in the person of its "agents," sending the freedmen to free States as fast "as they were willing to go." In 1880 with various donations and money belonging to the Yearly Meeting, it seemed best to appoint Trustees who should represent the Yearly Meeting in all legal matters and signatures, which ruling is still in vogue.

[*An edition of George Fox's Primer, or spelling book, so-called, was printed at Newport, Rhode Island, 1769, by S. Southwick, which seems to imply a demand for it. It contains much of interest. The correct title is, "Spelling and Plain Directions for Reading and Writing True English, with several other Things very useful for Young and Old to read and learn."—Ed.]

To speak of the attitude of North Carolina Friends in regard to slavery would be superfluous when Stephen B. Weeks has so ably treated the subject in his "Southern Quakers and Slavery."

Little needs to be said on the matter of education; for Allen Jay's autobiography, with Mary M. Hobbs' supplement, have made that fresh in the minds of the readers of this article. But prior to 1830, the Friends seemed to be giving more attention to "schools and school learning for the people of color" than to those for their own children. In 1803 the subject of schools is first discussed, but in 1831 it is reported that there is not a single school in the Yearly Meeting distinctly under Friends' care. It was such a condition which gave birth to the founding of New Garden Boarding School, which is now Guilford College. It was that there might be teachers *among the Friends* properly equipped to go over the State and have the care of Friends' children. The Boarding School was to be the source of equipment. In 1849 came the definite widespread action of North Carolina Friends in reaching the masses of our State in the matter of education. At this time a General Committee of two men and two women in each Monthly Meeting was appointed to have definite care in educational matters. This continued till the work of the Baltimore Association came in, a work of which Governor Worth declared, "This movement is the most important phase of reconstruction that has come to my knowledge."

To read the minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting from the point of view of their attitude toward war, is a study in itself. That Emanual Lowe, the son-in-law of John Archdale, was peremptorily disowned for bearing arms, shows the Friends in the infancy of the church to have been staunch in their adherence to peace principles *without respect of persons.* That historians have been wont to connect Friends with the War of the Regulators is matter of much regret to Friends; for though Herman Husbands, a leader among the Regulators, was at one time a Friend, a careful reading of the minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting show that he was *disowned* by that meeting some years (1764) before the Regulator outbreak; disowned *not* for warlike

procedure either, but the rather for *speaking* his *mind* in a church quarrel. That some Friends may have taken part in the War of the Regulators cannot be denied, but that they were dealt with is almost without question.

During Revolutionary times, the Yearly Meeting strictly charged its membership "not to take part with either party," and "not to engage in running contraband goods." So soon as the war was over the Yearly Meeting sends a letter throughout its membership, leaving it with the individual whether or not he shall declare allegiance to the new government, but that such allegiance must be taken by *affirmation.*

How Friends of North Carolina fared during the War between the States is too well-known for comment here.

On the whole it may be fairly assumed that the Quaker supremacy in the early history of the State, prior to 1700, and their great, though waning power for the next fifty years have made the history of North Carolina not altogether unlike that of Pennsylvania; for we are firmly convinced that it was the influence of what Weeks calls "the flower of Puritanism," which has preserved the annals of our State from those dark pages which mar the history of Massachusetts and Virginia. 1828 the war query was most carefully worded, and a memorial on the subject of war was distributed throughout the membership. In 1847 Friends resorted to their frequent method of expostulation, and sent a memorial to Congress pleading for the termination of the Mexican War.

The study of the names which occur in the records is interesting to say the least; and to note how certain names have clung to given districts from their first settlement. Eastern Quarter has always had its Nicholson's and White's and Winslow's. Contentnea Quarter has always been the home of the Hollowell's and Moore's. Deep River has had its Mendenhall's from the beginning. That Friends cling to names of places is proven by the fact that New Garden, Ireland, had its duplicate in Pennsylvania; and, when the Friends of New Garden, Pennsylvania, moved to Carolina, the new meeting there set up was still called New Garden. And yet again when there came the great migration westward on account of slavery, there became in turn a New Garden in Indiana. Such facts as these help

much in determining who the Friends have been, settling certain sections, and from what place they came. To be sure the love of the euphonious is nowhere manifest in the naming of the Friends' Meetings in Carolina, but there is much of "local color" in such, as some of the following will prove: Beech Spring, Deep River, Piney Woods, Up River, Rocky River, Springfield and others.

To close this article without mentioning some of the prominent ministers which the Yearly Meeting has produced would be hardly just. Of course, Nathan Hunt stands foremost in the minds of all, with a close second in Mahlon Hockett or Jeremiah Hubbard, or Richard Jordan, or Charity Cook, or John Bond, or Asenath Clark—men and women who "served their generation by the will of God."

At the last Yearly Meeting (1908) the membership was reported as 6,728. With five days, and two sessions per day consumed in transacting the business, the minutes require 104 printed quarto pages. There are eight Quarterly Meetings and twenty-eight Monthly Meetings, and sixty-eight recorded ministers; and this means strictly *within* the State except a very few just across the State line in Virginia; for there are no longer Friends' Meetings in South Carolina and Georgia, and as already stated the Friends of Tennessee have been transferred to Wilmington Yearly Meeting.

What has been said in these pages refers to the Friends who have adopted the Uniform Discipline. In 1904 a few hundred in the eastern section of the State withdrew from the Yearly Meeting, and though still calling themselves Friends, are not in unity with the main body.

Though these two large sections have been taken out of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in recent times, to say nothing of the exodus on account of slavery, there is a steady increase in membership and a growing church; and when Friends have realized the fruits of their present efforts to plant the church in our centres of population, as well as to strengthen it in the rural districts, we believe that North Carolina Quakerism can then hope to develop itself in all phases of organized aggressive work, both doctrinal and educational.

Guilford College, N. C.

COLONEL WILLIAM BYRD AND THE QUAKERS.

[The following extracts are from Colonel William Byrd's "History of the Dividing Line, Run in the Year 1728." This account of running the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina is printed in John Spencer Bassett's "The Writings of 'Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esq.,' New York, 1901." William Byrd, 2nd, was the son of the immigrant, William Byrd, and was born in Virginia, 1674, and died at his fine mansion, Westover on the James River, 1744. He was for thirty-seven years a member of the King's Council in Virginia, and for many years one of the most prominent citizens of that colony, holding many offices and exercising great influence. He had been educated in England, was a personal friend of Pope, and was one of the most cultured men in America. He left a library of about 4000 volumes, at the time the largest private collection in the English colonies. It was sold by auction in 1778. One of his books, Sir Thomas Herbert's "Travels Into Africa and Asia the Great," etc., folio, London, 1677, is in the Library of Haverford College; it contains his fine book plate. Colonel William Byrd's style is lively, and his narrative flows smoothly. His spelling conforms in many cases to that of the Simplified Spelling Board of to-day, who certainly can claim that age is often on their side.—EDITOR.]

The Proprietors of New Jersey, finding more Trouble than Profit in their new Dominions, made over their Right to several other Persons, who obtained a fresh Grant from His Royal Highness, dated March 14th, 1682.

Several of the Grantees, being Quakers and Anabaptists, faild not to encourage many of their own perswasion to remove to this Peaceful Region. Amongst them were a Swarm of Quakers, who were not tolerated to exercise the Gifts of the Spirit in their own Country.

Besides the hopes of being Safe from Persecution in this Retreat, the New Proprietors inveigled many over by this tempting Account of the Country; that it was a Place free from those 3 great Scourges of Mankind, Priests, Lawyers, and Physicians. Nor did they tell a Word of a Lye, for the People were yet too poor to maintain these Learned Gentlemen, who, every where,

love to be paid well for what they do; and, like the Jews, cant breathe in a Climate where nothing is to be got.[1]

The Jerseys continued under the Government of these Proprietors till the Year 1702, when they made a formal Surrender of the Dominion to the Queen, reserving however, the Property of the Soil to themselves. So soon as the Bounds of New Jersey came to be distinctly laid off, it appeared that there was still a Narrow Slipe of Land lying betwixt that Colony and Maryland. Of this, William Penn, a Man of much Worldly Wisdom, and some Eminence among the Quakers, got early Notice, and, by the Credit he had with the Duke of York, obtained a Patent for it. Dated March 4th, 1680 [1680-1681].

* * * * * * * * *

This Gentleman's first Grant confined Him within pretty Narrow Bounds, giving him only that Portion of Land which contains Buckingham, Philadelphia and Chester Counties. But to get these Bounds a little extended, He pusht His Interest still farther with His Royal Highness, and obtained a fresh Grant of the three Lower Counties, called New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, which still remained within the New York Patent, and had been luckily left out of the Grant of New Jersey.

The six Counties being thus incorporated, the Proprietor dignified the whole with the Name of Pensilvania.

The Quakers flockt over to this Country in Shoals, being averse to go to Heaven the same way with the Bishops. Amongst them were not a few of good Substance, who went vigorously upon every kind of Improvement; and thus much, I may truly say in their Praise that by Diligence and Frugality, For which this Harmless Sect is remarkable, and by having no Vices but such as are Private, they have, in a few Years, made Pensilvania a very fine country.

The Truth is, they have observed exact Justice with all the Natives that border upon them; they have purchased all their Lands from the Indians; and tho they paid but a Trifle for them, it has procured them the Credit of being more righteous than

[1]Here follows a scandalous story relating to William Penn which Byrd quotes as partly accounting for Penn's success at Court. It is needless to say that the story has no evidence whatever to sustain it.

their Neighbours. They have likewise had the Prudence to treat them kindly upon all Occasions, which has saved them from many Wars and Massacres, wherein the other Colonies have been indiscreetly involved. The Truth of it is, a People whose Principles forbid them to draw the Carnal Sword, were in the Right to give no Provocation. [Pages 18-21.]

In our Journey we remarkt that the North Side of this great [Dismal] Swamp lies higher than either the East or the West, nor were the approaches to it so full of Sunken Grounds. We passt by no less than two Quaker Meeting Houses, one of which had an Awkward Ornament on the West End of it, that seemed to Ape a Steeple. I must own I expected no such Piece of Foppery from a Sect of so much outside Simplicity.[1]

That persuasion prevails much in the lower end of Nansimond county, for want of Ministers to Pilot the People a decenter way to Heaven.

The ill Reputation of Tobacco planted in those lower Parishes makes the Clergy unwilling to accept of them, unless it is such whose abilities are as mean as their Pay.[2] Thus, whether the Churches be quite void or but indifferently filled, the Quakers will have an Opportunity of gaining Proselytes. 'Tis a wonder no Popish Missionaries are sent from Maryland to labour in this Neglected Vineyard, who we know have Zeal enough to traverse Sea and Land on the Meritorious Errand of making converts. 1728, March 16th [Pages 57, 58].

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[1]The editor has not been able to identify these meeting houses.

[2]The legal salary for a clergyman in Virginia at this time was 16,000 pounds of tobacco.

QUAKERS IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1703.

[The following extracts give an outside view of the Friends in North Carolina in 1703. They are from reports made to the Church of England "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," of which the first agent in America was the well-known George Keith, who had given Friends in America and England so much trouble in the closing years of the 18th century. They are taken from the "Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society for the year 1851," pages 182-185. The first extract is referred to on page 7.—Editor.]

"Mr. Henderson Walker to the Lord Bishop of London.

North Carolina, 21st October, 1703.

May it please your Lordship:

.....My Lord, we have been settled neer fifty years in this place, and I may justly say most part of twenty-one years on my own knowledge without Priest or Altar, and before that time, according to all that appears to me, much worse. George Fox some years ago came into these parts, and by strange infatuations did infuse the Quakers' Principles into some small number of the people, which did and hath continued to grow ever since very numerous by reason of their yearly sending in men to encourage and exhort them to their wicked principles; and here was none to dispute nor to oppose them in carrying on their pernicious principles for many years, till God of his infinite goodness was pleased to inspire the Rev. Dr. Bray some time about four years ago to send in some books of his own particular pious gift of the explanation of the Church Catechism, with some other small books to be disposed of and lent as we thought fit, did in some measure put a stop to their growth; and about a year after did send to us a library of books for the benefit of this place, given by the honorable the Corporation for the establishing of the Christian religion, by one Mr. Daniel Bret, a minister appointed for this place. He for about half a year behaved himself in a modest manner, but after that in a most horrid manner; broke out in such an extravagant course that I am ashamed to express his carriage, it being in so high

nature. It hath been a great trouble and grief to us who have a great veneration for the Church that the first minister that was sent to us should prove so ill as to give the Dissenters so much occasion to charge us with him.....

My Lord, I humbly beg leave to inform you that we have an Assembly to sit the 3rd November next, and there is one half of the Burgesses that are chosen are Quakers and have declared their designs of making void the act for establishing the Church; if your Lordship out of your good and pious care of us doth not put a stop to their growth, we shall the most part, especially the children born here, become heathens. I humbly entreat your Lordship to send some worthy good man amongst us to regain the Flock, and so perfect us in our duty to God, and establish us by his Doctrine, life and conversation in the fundamentalls of our Christian profession that we in our time and those as come hereafter, may bless God that he has raised up so noble a pillar as your Lordship to regain those who are going astray, and put a stop to the pernicious growing Principles of the Quakers.....

My Lord,

Your most humble and obedien servant,

HENDERSON WALKER."

AN ACCOUNT OF MR. BLAIR'S MISSION TO NORTH CAROLINA.

".....I landed in Virginia 14th January, 1703. As soon as I could conveniently travel, I waited on the Governor [Francis Nicholson] and immediately after made the best of my way into the country where I was bound.

I arrived amongst the Inhabitants after a tedious and troublesome journey on the 24th. I was then obliged to buy a couple of Horses, which cost me fourteen pounds, one of which was for a guide, because there is no possibility for a stranger to find his Road in that Country, for if he once goes astray (it being such a Desart country) it's a hazard if ever he finds his

Road again. Besides there are such mighty inconveniences in traveling there, for the roads are not only deep and difficult to be found, but there are likewise seven great Rivers in the country, over which there is no passing with horses, except two of them, one of which the Quakers have settled a Ferry over for their own conveniency, and nobody but themselves have the Priviledge of it, so that at the passing over the Rivers, I was obliged either to borrow or hire Horses, which was both troublesome and chargeable, insomuch that in little more than two months I was obliged to dispose of the necessaries I carried over for my own use to satisfy my creditors.....

I remained very well satisfied in the Country till their Assembly sat, which was on 1st March, where I expected they would propose a settlement for my maintenance; and they taking no care of it, together with my then circumstances, which were but very indifferent, Discouraged me very much, and occasioned my first thoughts of returning to England, for I was informed before I went thither that there was £30 per annum settled by Law to be paid in each Precinct for the Maintenance of a Minister, which Law was sent over hither to be confirmed by their Lords' proprietors; and it being supposed not to be a competency for a Minister to live on, was sent back again without Confirmation, whereof the Quakers took the advantage, and will endeavour to prevent any such Law passing for the future; for they are the greatest number in the Assembly, and are unanimous, and stand truly to one another in whatsoever may be for their Interest, for the Country may be divided into four sorts of people: 1st, the Quakers, who are the most powerful enemies to Church Government, but a people very ignorant of what they profess; 2nd sort are a great many that have no Religion, but would be Quakers if by that they were not obliged to lead a more moral life than they are willing to comply to; a 3rd sort, are something like Presbyterians, which sort is upheld by some idle Fellows that have left their lawful Imployment and preach and baptize through the country without any manner of orders from any sect or pretended Church. A 4th sort, who are really zealous for the Interest of the Church, are the fewest in numbers, but the better sort of people, and would do very

much for the settlement of Church Government there, if not opposed by these three Precedent Sects, and although they be all three of different pretensions, yet they all concur together in one common cause to prevent anything that will be chargeable to them, as they allege Church Government will be if once establisht by Law; and another great discouragement these poor people have is a Governor [Thomas Cary] who does not in the least countenance them in this business, but rather discourage them."

THE PHILADELPHIA COUNTERPART OF THE BOSTON TEA PARTY.

(As shown by the correspondence of James & Drinker.)

CONCLUSION.

BY THOMAS B. TAYLOR.

New York, 3rd November 1773.

Sirs,—

We duly received your favour of the 29th ultimo. Since our last we have carefully collected the sentiments of people in general, and we can now congratulate you on a complete victory gained over the opposition here. The Smugglers find they cannot appear themselves without being pointed out, and no other persons will take the lead; they have in vain attempted to do it themselves, for they find nobody will follow them; so that on comparing the sentiments of people in general, with the Governor's, and the Agents themselves, we are of opinion that if the Tea should arrive to-morrow, and the duty be paid here, it would be landed and sold with very little opposition. There is not one impartial person in the City but what now says the Tea should have been imported, and the Duty paid, when it was first complied with by the other Colonies, and that it was prevented only by a junto of smugglers for their own private, sinister purposes; had this been done at first, the East India Company would never have thought of the present measure, and tho' they conceive it to be a dangerous monopoly, and big with the greatest mischiefs to the commerce of America, they see no way of preventing it, but are very ready in laying the blame where it ought to be, at the door of the Smugglers. We shall now be as glad to see the Tea arrive here first, as we

heretofore wished it might be first with you, so very short is human foresight in matters which the most nearly concerns us.

We are, Sirs,

Your most hble Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER

Merchants in

Philadelphia.

New York, 3rd November, 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

PHILADELPHIA, 11th Mo. 6th, 1773.

Esteemed Friends,—

We have to own your two favours of 28th ult. & 3rd Instant. In the present state of things, and what appears to be the Temper of the people of your place & ours, we sincerely join you in wishing the Ship intended for your port with Teas may arrive there so long before that bound to this place, as to give us timely & full information of the reception you give the Ship & your whole proceedings in the matter.

Such is our situation, that to avoid Heats & Clamour, we carefully refrain entering upon the subject, only with a number of our cool & assured Friends, who have united with us in believing & expecting that a little time would produce a material alteration among the sensible & judicious & that we might then freely enter into a deliberate discussion of the affair. Altho' this seems to be coming forward slowly, yet a number now say the proceedings & sentiments of the People about the Time of the Town Meeting were hasty & undefensible, nevertheless it is out of our Power to say the turn things will take should the Ship arrive, but this we are clear on, that the longer we are continued in a state of *suspence* & the more time that is given to the late heated Spirits to cool & Reflect, the less opposition will be given.

Could we be satisfied that you are right in your judgment on the late Act of Parliam't. that is, *that the paym't of all Duties on both sides the Water is as much suspended as if the Act was totally repealed,* we should be perfectly easy, but it has not as yet upon a careful perusal of the whole Act, appeared clearly to us that it is the Case, neither do we find many here of your Sentiments. Perhaps your further remarks on the force & meaning of some parts of the Law may tend to inform us more fully & satisfactorily herein. But if you are right in your opinion, we conceive every caution that you are so prudently taking to see the Captain early, would be the less necessary.

Your last Letter is very full indeed, and we wish you may be rightly & fully inform'd—we have heard it in some measure confirm'd, & on the contrary have seen a Letter from your place, wrote by a person on whose information we should place a good deal of dependence, who insists

upon it that Rivington has suffered much in his Reputation as a Printer by his introducing so partially a part of the Act of Parliament tending to deceive & mislead the People, & further says this Writer the Tea will not be rec'd or Landed if subject to the Duty.

We find our Custom House have obtained from Boston an Acc't of the Teas imported there which have paid the Duty of 3 d. per lb. the whole being about 1200 Chests.

As we may Hourly expect the arrival of the ship here & with you, we intend to give you the earliest intimation of our movements when that happens here & must intreat you will lose no time in acquainting us with your proceedings—a mutual care herein may be beneficial at both places.

We are

Your affectionate Friends,

11 Mo. 6th, 1773, to Pigon & Booth, New York.

New York, 10th November 1773.

Sirs,—

We have before us your favour of the 6th current. The late Act of Parliament respecting Tea, is a very confused one, and will require no less judgment than that of a Treasury Board, where perhaps it originated, to explain it. Some of our Lawyers are of opinion that Tea cannot be landed here free of the duty of 3 d. per lb., but we pay no regard to this opinion. The single question with us, is, whether the Lords of the Treasury will think any clause in that Act of sufficient force to authorize them in granting a License to send Tea to America *free of all Duties whatsoever.* That branch of the Revenue relating to the Customs, is by several Acts of Parliament put wholly under their direction, and they have more than once taken great latitude in explaining particular Laws; this however is certain, that we have clear advices *that no duty will be paid here,* and how it can be compromised any other way, we are not able to determine. We hope you will not be led to believe, that Rivington has suffered in the opinion of one moderate Man, by inserting the clause you mention. We observe great pains is taken both here and at Philada. to magnify every little circumstance, with a view of keeping the opposition in heart. Great complaint has come from your City that so little has been done here, and we believe the disturbance of the 5th of November was effected solely with a view of removing that complaint. What would you say if the whole of that scheme was concerted in your City? This however is a fact, that Corn. Bradford appeared to have the direction of the Cart which carried the effigies, and was the only Man that seemed to be decently dressed. We have an authenticated Account of the Tea imported into Boston, and below is a summary of the particulars. Our principal fear still is, that the Smugglers being so deeply interested in preventing the landing of the Tea, they may even

attempt to destroy the Vessel before she comes up; this has partly determined us to have a Boat constantly off the Hook, purely to deliver a letter of caution to the Captain. You may depend on our giving you the earliest Account of the arrival of the Tea here, and of every movement that may be taken in consequence of it. We have received your favour of yesterday. James McAuley on Walter & Thomas Buchanan for 25 Pds. Jamaica Currency is accepted.

We are, Sirs,
Your most hble Serv'ts
PIGON & BOOTH.

To
MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER
Merch'ts in
Philadelphia.

New York, 10th Nov., 1773, Pigon & Booth.

An Account of Tea imported into Boston which has paid the Duty of 3 d. per lb. ————

	Chests	Half Chester	Qr. Chests
In the Year 1769.....	329	11	
1770.....	153	14	
1771.....	709	84	7
1772.....	323	52	
1773 to 23 Oct.	349	25	
	1863	186	7

Sirs,—

We take the opportunity by Mr. Pollard of forwarding you Rivington's Paper, which contains some curious pieces. They display in some measure the policy of the Smugglers, whose conduct gains no friends, and makes them many enemies.

We are, Sirs,
Your most obed't Serv't
PIGON & BOOTH.

New York,
11th Nov. 1773.

To
MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,
Merch'ts in
Philadelphia.

New York, 11th Nov., 1773, Pigon & Booth.

New York, 12th November 1773.

Sirs,

One Mr. Lampriere, sets out this day for your City, who will deliver you a Bundle containing 82 Pds. 19.— on our Acct. We have now a diverting incident to relate; the Persons who prepared Mr. Kelly's effigy on the 5th of November meeting with no opposition, were determined to make further experiments of the like nature, and we are told has actually prepared our B. B.'s effigy, supposing him to have fewer Friends in the City than either of the other Agents, and were to have paraded with it last Tuesday or Wednesday evening, having forged a lie for the purpose to make it go down, namely, that he had declared he would receive the Tea and sell it, duty or no duty. Some Gentlemen getting intelligence of the design, went to the Mayor, and in a very spirited manner insisted upon his raising the posse to prevent any disturbance, and many persons offering to give him assistance, there would have been some bloody noses, had not the project been laid aside. The Mayor has been highly blamed for not appearing on the 5th of November and we imagine is in some pain about his office; we suppose you need not be told he is elected by the Governor. The Smugglers want to be doing something, but they cannot tell what; their fingers itch to disturb the repose of the Agents, and for this purpose virulent Papers have been put under our doors, and stuck up at the Coffee House, but all the Town see the impropriety of attacking them till they have been first required to resign, and that is a measure they dare not risque.

We are, Sirs,
Your most obed't Serv'ts,
Pigon & Booth.

Mr. Jones has been indisposed but he will be with you next week.

To
Messrs. James & Drinker
Merch'ts in
Philadelphia.

New York, 12th Nov., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

Sirs,—

We have before us your favour of yesterday, and have only time to inclose you Rivington's Paper, which we think is worth the Postage, at least to a *Tea Commissioner,* only to shew with what freedom we act and speak. The account of the Tea's being arrived at Boston proves to be premature.

We are, Sirs,
Your most obed't Serv'ts,
Pigon & Booth.

New York, 19th Nov., 1773.

Our great folks are very angry at the conduct of the opposition, and we hear it is a determined point to land the Tea, and protect it when landed, and for the Sale of it we are sure of a great majority, if the Duty is not to be paid here.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER
Merchants in
Philadelphia.

New York, 19th Nov., 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

PHILADA., 11th Mo. 20th, 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

Since writing ours of 18th we have look'd over your favour of the 17th Instant with more attention than time wou'd then permit. The Bonds executed in London by the Friends of the Consignees in America, to whom the East India Company are about sending their Tea, seem to us properly guarded should any difficulty happen as to the receiving & selling said Tea,—we observe that the security is given for the faithful paym't of the Money for which *the Agent* shall sell the Tea, yet that it will come out as a joint Consignment to all the Agents named at one place. Whether this latter circumstance will produce any difficulties we cannot yet say, but should they not all be of a mind so as to act the same part on its arrival, it may open a door in these troublesome times that ought to be well guarded. The mention of Freight & Duty in the Bond carries an appearance with it, that the latter is to be paid to answer the ends of the Law which imposed it, & therefore we have very little prospect of its obtaining an *easy* reception here, however as nothing fresh has lately happen'd that materially alters what we have wrote you on this head, we shall now leave it. We are really pleased to gather from your acc't of the Ships coming out from London that the one bound to your port has a chance of arriving there first. Should that be the case the earliest & fullest information of your proceedings may be very important & useful to us. It is said by some that Tea, (which has lately advanced & become scarce here) may be expected in quantities from St. Eustatia, & the prospects of profit to the importers, if they can Monopolize the Trade, will no doubt make them fertile in expedients, to prevent other dealers from being partakers of the advantages to be derived from the Sale of that Article. We are anxious to hear further from Boston and if the Tea is arrived

to know the Measures pursued there. Will it not be an aggravation & give a handle to the people of N. York and this place to hear that the Duty is paid in Boston under the Revenue Act as directed therein, and that those two places are distinguished by a different way of paying it? as it was early discovered by the learned here, that whether paid in England or America, there was no real difference.

Philada., 11 Mo. 20, 1773, Letter to Pigon & Booth, New York, Copied.

21st. 9 o'clock in the Morning.

The above waited the arrival of the Mail by which we have your favour of 19th for which we thank you, & from the pieces in Rivington's Paper we are led to think that the Opposition are aware that Government with you are against them, and that if the Tea arrives at the City it will be admitted & Sold. Little or no change in the People here that we know of as to the Interesting Subject which is all we have time to add, save that we are your most

Assured Friends,

Sirs,

I have only time to tell you that your favour of the 20th current is come to hand; nothing new has happened here. Next Post you will have a new piece; it is my first exhibition. Hitherto I have not appeared in print. I reserved myself for the time when reason and argument would have some weight; that period seems now to be come.

I am, for F. Pigon & Self,
Sirs, Your most obed't Serv't
BEN BOOTH.

New York, 22nd Nov. 1773.
To
MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER
Merch'ts in
Philadelphia.

New York, Nov. 22nd, 1773, from Ben. Booth.

NEW YORK, 24th November 1773.

Sirs,—

Last night arrived here the Sampson Capt. Coupar from London, which he left the 20th of July; the Tea ships were then ready to sail for both ports, and may be hourly expected. Inclosed you have two pieces signed Poplicola and a Farmer; it was a little unlucky for the poor Farmer, to be so close upon the heels of the great Poplicola; indeed they would have jostled each other at their entrance, if the Farmer had not modestly drawn back, and waited till the next day,

to give place to his betters. You will observe Poplicola still maintains his first position, that the Duties on Tea are all taken off. We know not what you may think of him, but he is in high reputation here. We think as you do that if the Agents disagree in their sentiments, it may be productive of many inconveniences; the only security we see against it, is, its being so much their Interest to think alike; so that we are no way apprehensive of any misunderstanding happening here. If we do not see clearly that we shall be able to sell the Tea, without considerable opposition, we shall give up that point, upon condition it may be stored till we have further instructions from the East India Company; this will give them time to apply to Parliament at the beginning of the Session. The Smugglers will also have time to run off their Teas, and will not dare to send for more; so that in the Spring we may sell the Tea, and proceed in the business without opposition.

We are, Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv'ts

PIGON & BOOTH.

To

MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER,

Merch'ts in

Philadelphia.

New York, Nov. 24th, 1773, from Pigon & Booth.

PHILADA., 30th of 11th Mo. 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

We duly rec'd your favours of 22nd and 24th Instant and were much pleased with the two Publications, but little use can be made of them here, at least we know not at present any opening for a Distribution of them if we were to get them reprinted. Such is the Taste here that nothing seems generally read or attended to but what contains—Cursed Tea, Detested Tea, Rotten Tea &c. &c. with a Torrent of Abuse of the British Ministry, Parliament, India Company, American Tea Commissioners &c. &c

Your sentiments about Storing the Tea provided the Opposition will not suffer it to be sold is exactly agreeable to our Sentiments, but we do not flatter ourselves with such a firm Union with the other Agents here as there should be nor that much dependence can be had on such a reasonable Measure being allow'd here. We sincerely wish for the Honor & reputation of our City it could, even if we were sure we should be no gainers but losers by it, rather than the Measures pointed out in the printed Paper inclosed which came out, on the 26th Instant in the evening & next Evening there was a Meeting of the late Committee and a Number of the old Committee chosen at the Entering into the Non-importation Agreement who, we are informed, have determined on calling a Meeting

of the Inhabitants on the Arrival of the Ship with Tea to determine on what shall be found necessary to do at that Time.

Since writing the above we have rec'd your acceptable Favour of 29th Instant and have perused it with all the Attention the time will afford and have to observe that what is contained therein will we make no doubt be generally Circulated here & bring forward some further Measures on the side of the Opposition. We shall take the first hour we can after the Letters to go by the Packet are sent to the Office, to be ready with an Answer suitable to the Occasion. The further consideration of the several judicious Sentiments contained in your letter will be given thereto as soon as in the power of your

Affectionate & next Friend,

30th of 11th Mo., 1773. Copy of a Letter to Pigon & Booth of New York.

James and Drinker upon the late arrival of the October Mail into New York from England have receiv'd information that they together with Thomas & Isaac Wharton, Jonathan Brown & Gilbert Barkley are appointed by the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies to receive & sell certain Teas, Shipp'd by the said Directors in the Ship Polly, Samuel Ayres Master, now hourly expected to arrive here, do think it Seasonable to declare themselves on the Subject of their being Appointed as Agents in this Business. That if the Teas arrive here subject to the Payment of a Duty under the American Revenue Act they ought to be received & deposited in a place of Safety there to remain without an Attempt of the Agents or any others to make Sale thereof, and the East India Directors informed that the Inhabitants of this Province appear to be determin'd not to purchase said Teas but to discourage & prevent the Sale of them during the existence of the said Act. That the said East India Directors should therefore be desired to exert their weight & Influence with the British Parliament to obtain a repeal of the said Act as the most certain mode of opening the way for a Sale of their Teas here. If this measure should not be adopted or they fail of succeeding therein, then to order the Teas from hence to some other part of the World. These are Sentiments the said James and Drinker have steadily & publicly avowed and as they apprehend become them as persons really concerned for the Reputation and Peace of the City & who have a thorough regard for the security & preservation of the Civil Rights and true Interests of their Country.

Yet they have constantly declared and particularly on the 18th of October last upon being applied to by a Committee who were appointed two days before at the State House that they neither meant or intended to do anything that should be disagreeable to their fellow Citizens, and they now repeat that assurance. And as they stand inform'd by the said Committee and others that it is the general sense of the People that the

Agents ought not to receive the said Tea if subject to the aforesaid Duty,—and as no considerable number of the Inhabitants have by any ways or means made it known to them that they disapprove of, or are of different Sentiments. Therefore the said James & Drinker must and do conclude that it is the general Opinion of the People that they should not act under their appointment as Agents, and do therefore *decline Acting under the said Appointment.*

(Signed) James and Drinker.

Philada. December 2, 1773.

Copy.

Esteemed Friends,—

Your favours of 29th Nov., 1st & 3rd inst. remain with us as you would wish them.

We intend soon to give you a particular detail of our proceedings here, which time don't now admit of.

Upon arrival of the Post on the 2nd Inst. bringing us full information from the E. I. Directors, we could no longer suspend a definite answer agreeable to our promise on the 18th of October & now loudly & indecently call'd for.* You have a Copy of it on the other side which occasion'd great Wrath in many, that we should dare to intrude on the Public our Sentim'ts as to the Receiv'g & Housing the Tea &c. & intimate as far as our ticklish situations would admit, that we would have executed the Commission could we be supported by any considerable number of the Inhabitants. Had there been more time allow'd us we should have framed an Answer more to our own satisfaction, but we think it will not hurt us with the unbiased & judicious.

By next Post we intend to write more fully, when in all probability some account of Cap't Ayres may be with us, in meantime we remain your

Assured Friends,

12 Mo. 4, 1773, to

Pigon & Booth, New York.

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*The foregoing is no doubt the reply to the following "card," of which a copy is not found among the Drinker papers, but is extracted from the booklet published by Mr. Frank M. Etting, in his "History of Independence Hall."

A CARD.

The public present their compliments to Messrs. James & Drinker. We are informed that you have this day received your commission to enslave your native country,—and as your frivolous plea of having received no advice, relative to the scandalous part you were to act, in the Tea scheme, cannot longer serve your purpose, nor divert our attention, we expect and desire you will immediately inform the public, by a line or two to be left at the coffee house, whether you will, or will not renounce all pretensions to execute that commission? THAT WE MAY GOVERN OURSELVES ACCORDINGLY.

Philadelphia, Dec. 2d, 1773.

CASTLE WILLIAM, 4th December, 1773.

Gentlemen,—

By our Letters lately receiv'd from the Hon'ble Directors of the East India Company, we are order'd to Correspond with you & the other Agents of the Company at the different Colonies, & to communicate the disposition of the Inhabitants, the State of our Sales &c.

As to the former of these points, we beg leave to refer you to our publick Prints for upwards of a month past, in which you may perceive the methods that were early made use of, to instigate the People of this Province to oppose the introduction & sale of the Teas that were expected to arrive here from the Company, & the various steps that were from time to time taken to oblige the Consignees in Boston, you will also see in the Publick Papers the answers which we have from one time to another given to the Demands that were made upon us, also some mention made of our application to the Governor & Council for their protection & assistance. We have not yet received from the Secretary's Office an authentick account of the proceedings of the Council, but are inform'd that the Council did not advise to any effectual measures for the Security of the expected Teas, or the protection of our Persons. In Addition to what has appear'd in our publick Papers we would inform you, that towards the close of last week, upon finding that the rage of the People against the plan of the Hon'ble East India Company was greatly increased, some of us had an interview with the Selectmen of the Town, and then offer in order to compose the minds of the People & to restore the Peace of the Town to Store the Teas until we should hear from our Constituents; to this we were answer'd that from the temper of the People they were perswaded (sic) that nothing but our Shipping back the Tea would satisfy them, to which we replied that we could not possibly comply with so unreasonable a requisition.

Cap't Hall arriv'd with part of the Teas last Sunday, the next morning a large number of People assembled on this occasion & continued their meeting through that and the next day. We beg leave to refer you for their proceedings to the Account which that Assembly Order'd to be printed, & which will undoubtedly reach you before you can receive this.

We wou'd further advise you, that on consideration of the outrages which had been perpetrated, the menaces which were publickly given out & the hazard we were continually under of being constrained to submit to their most unreasonable demands, we judged it necessary to retreat to this place of safety.

You'll perceive by the last printed Account of their transactions that they have ordered that the Teas shall be sent back, whether they will be able to accomplish this or not we leave to be determined by the Event. However that may be, it is our fixed resolution that we will not give any Orders or directions for that purpose, and that we may not be obliged to act contrary to our judgment, we intend to stay in this Place untill we can return to Town without exposing our Constituents' Interest

to hazard, altho' our being absent from our Houses and Business will be attended with great Inconvenience and damage.

We must beg the favor of you Gentlemen to advise us of the situation of this affair in your place, and are

Thomas & Isaac Wharton Esqs.
Abel James & Henry Drinker Esqs.
Gilbert Barkly Esq. &
Jonathan Brown Esq.

Gentlemen,

Copy.

Your most humble Servants,
THOS. & ELISHA HUTCHINSON
RICH'D CLARKE & SONS
BENJ'N FANEUIL Jun'r.

Castle William, Dec. 4, 1773, from Thos. & Elisha Hutchinson & others Esquires.

To The
TRADESMEN, MECHANICS, &c.
Of the Province of
PENNSYLVANIA.

My dear and much Respected Brethren,

At a Time when a corrupt and prostituted Ministry are pointing their destructive Machines against the sacred Liberties of the *Americans,* the Eyes of all *Europe* are upon us; and much is expected from the known Resolution and Conduct of the *Pennsylvanians,* amongst whom the industrious and respectable Body of TRADESMEN and MECHANICS hear a very large Proportion. The Point in Question is, Whether we have Property of our own, or not? whether our Property, and the dear-earned Fruits of our Labour, are at our own Disposal, or shall be wantonly wrested from us, by a Set of luxurious, abandoned and piratical Hirelings, to be appropriated by them to increase the Number of such infamous Pensioners, and support their unlimited Extravagance? The Result depends on our determined Virtue and Integrity, at so important a Crisis.

The Nature of the detestable TEA-SCHEME, and the pernicious Consequences of submitting to receive IT amongst us, subject to a Duty payable here, and levied on us without our Consent, have been so judiciously set forth, and demonstrated by abler Pens, as to leave no Room for one of my Capacity to undertake it; and, if the trifling Duty of *Three-Pence* were ONLY to be considered, it would not be worth our while to oppose it; nor worth while for the Ministry so strenuously to insist on; and take off, in Lieu thereof, a much greater Sum payable in London: But, that by this Breach (though small) they will enter the Bul-

wark of our sacred Liberties, and will never desist, till they have made a Conquest of the Whole.

These arbitrary Measures we have virtuously opposed hitherto: Let us for our own Sakes, for our Posterity's Sake, for our Country's Sake, stedfastly persevere in Opposing to the End. Corruption, Extravagance, and Luxury, are seldom found in the Habitations of Tradesmen. Industry, Economy, Prudence, and Fortitude, generally inhabit there; and I expect to see these commendable Virtues shine forth upon the present Occasion, with more than brilliant Lustre.

Let not the artful Insinuation of our Enemies, *That the Duty will be paid in England, by the East-India Company, and not in America,* have any Weight amongst us: This is one of their Toils to ensnare us. The Act of 11th of Geo. 3, expressly lays the aforesaid Duty, on all Teas imported in America from England, payable on its landing here; And no private Contract between the East-India Company and the Lords of the Treasury, no Power under the Crown, nor even the King himself, can dispense with, set aside, disannul, or make void such a Clause, or any other in any Act of Parliament, but the same Power and Authority by which it was enacted. The grand Point in View is, by every Artifice to enslave the *American* Colonies, and to plunder them of their property, and, what is more, *their Birth-Right,* LIBERTY. It is therefore highly incumbent on us unitedly, with Heart and Soul, to resist the diabolical Delusion, and *despise* the *infamous Projectors.*

But supposing the Act was repealed, and the Tea could be imported free of any Duty, Impost, or Custom; yet, is it not a most gross and daring Insult to pilfer the Trade from the *Americans,* and lodge it in the Hands of the *East-India* Company? Let us not be prevailed upon to suppose that this will affect the Merchants only:—We need not concern ourselves with it:—It will first most sensibly affect the Merchants; but it will also very materially affect YOU, ME, and every Member of the Community. The *East India* Company at present have shipped their desperate Adventure in chartered Bottoms; it was prudent so to do, or else possibly their obnoxious Vessels and Cargoes might become a Sacrifice to the Resentment of a much injured and exasperated People. The same Consideration might probably have induced them to appoint our Merchants their Agents to support the first heat of Action, rightly judging that if we would chastise our Friends *with Whips,* we should chastise their Factors *with Scorpions.* But if they can once open the Channel of Trade to themselves, they will hereafter ship their Teas in their own Bottoms. They have passed a gross Affront upon our Merchants in appointing such, whom we respect, Commissioners. Hereafter, if they succeed, they will send their own Factors and Creatures, establish Houses amongst US.

Ship US all other *East-India* Goods; and in order to full freight their Ships, take in other Kind of Goods at under Freight, or (more probably) ship them on their own accounts to their own Factors, and under-sell our Merchants, till they monopolize the whole Trade. Thus our Merchants are ruined, Ship Building ceases. They will then sell Goods at any exorbitant Price. Our Artificers will be unemployed, and every Tradesmen will groan under the dire Oppression.

The *East-India* Company, if once they get Footing in this (ONCE) happy Country, will leave no Stone unturned to become your Masters. They are an oppulent Body, and Money or Credit is not wanting amongst them. They have a designing, depraved, and despotic Ministry to assist and support them. They themselves are well versed in TYRANNY, PLUNDER, OPPRESSION and BLOODSHED. Whole Provinces labouring under the Distresses of Oppression, Slavery, Famine, and the Sword, are familiar to them. Thus they have enriched themselves,—thus they are become the most powerful Trading Company in the Universe. Be, therefore, my dear Fellow-Tradesmen, prudent,—be watchful,—be determined to let no Motive induce YOU to favour the accursed Scheme. Reject every Proposal, but a *repealing act.* Let not their baneful Commodity enter YOUR City. Treat every Aidor or Abettor with Ignominy, Contempt, &c. and let YOUR whole Deportment prove to the World, "THAT WE WILL BE FREE INDEED."

A MECHANIC.

Philadelphia, December 4, 1773.

PHILADA., 7th of 12th Mo. 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

Since our last many People Speak with more Freedom than we know they did before that the ship should come up & some go so far as to say the Tea ought to be landed, but the general View is that it shall not and every procedure is had on the Inclos'd Extra Letter to the Pilots & Capt. Ayres that can be devis'd—a proof of which is that a few days since the Ship Montague, Capt. Pickles, came off our Coast & was hailed by several Pilots, but upon his Answering from London none went on board for some time, till at last one Pilot did who refus'd to bring the ship up further than Bombay-hook, altho' the Capt. let him search the Ship & even threatened the Pilot's Life, to which the poor Fellow answer'd He was as willing to lose it there as at Philada. and the Capt. let him send his Boat up for permission to bring the Montague to Philada. where she arrived this Morning. At least this is the Acc't we have & don't doubt the Truth of it.

Another matter we can inform you of, that P. Benozot and some others who have goods on board have met and agreed not to Demand a

delivery of them but let them go with the Ship & Tea, and further we may add that we do not as yet find that the Executive part of Government here, have the least Intention to interfere or move in Opposition to this in our Opinion Ill Advis'd & desperate project of preventing the Ship coming up &c.

An immediate application from us to the Gov'r would have been made before now, requesting his interposition & authority to enable Capt. Ayres to enter this port with security & land the Cargo of Tea peaceably & quietly, but such a step would undoubtedly have made the Town too hot for us, tho' it was & is our judgment that there is a propriety in this Measure & would become us as real Friends to our Country.

As an application of this sort was at this time deemed highly imprudent, we concluded to call a number of the weighty Inhabitants together on the 3rd Inst. & lay before them every material part of the Comm'n intrusted to us by the E. India Company. Among those that met was James Allen, Esqr., the Gov'rs bro-in-law—& several of his Club Companions, so that he will in this way be fully inform'd of the matter & we are the more clear of being censured for keeping any knowledge we had of it from him or his intimate Friends.

We remain your most assured Frds.

12 Mo. 7th, 1773. Copy of a Letter to Pigon & Booth, N. Y.

Philada., 16th of 12th Mo. 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

Pigon & Booth, New York.

We have your Fav'r of 15th Instant and Observe the small progress of your Association on which some of the Associators we have reason to believe about a Week since of carrying their point; at least one or more of them wrote so here. And that the Bostonians have given 20 days before the Ships with the Tea are to depart from that Town in which time they Expect to know the Resolutions of the other Colonies—tho' of this they will before this be fully inform'd of we take for granted. In which we know not of the least alteration, and that as matters stand now, we believe no man can consistant with his peace & safety even speak to any Pilot or Boat to go down, and further that if He did no Boatman would undertake it, however of that shall consider further and advise.

As to our good Frd. J. D., shall be attentive thereto as the case may require and our great Regard & Esteem for him & you may need.

We remain with true regard

Your assured ready Frds.

PHILADA., 12th Mo. 17th, 1773.

TO THE BOSTON COMMISSIONERS:

Respected Friends,—

We have, with the other Agents in this City appointed by the Directors of the East India Company, received your favours dated at Castle-William the 4th Instant, and after repeated interviews with part of the Agents & a conference had yesterday with all of them it seems unlikely, that a joint Letter will be framed & subscribed to that will inform you fully of the Conduct of the Consignees here, which may in some Measure apologize for our not writing to you sooner.

As it must have been reported to you long ere this, that the Agents in this City, have been treated by the public, as having acted a different part on this trying occasion, it will readily occur to you where the difficulty lay upon their essaying a joint Letter. We therefore thought it best to give a plain & concise narrative of what we have done. And the other Agents may if they think it proper lay their Conduct as openly before you.

It is now about three months since our Public Prints were first furnish'd with pieces wrote with an intention to create a Spirit of opposition to the measure agreed on by the E. I. Company. Since then they have with little or no interruption been continued weekly & many separate printed papers have been distributed in this province, wrote to answer the same Purpose.

The Inhabitants of this Province were notified by a printed publication very generally distributed in this City & near it, to meet at the State House on the 16th day of October to consider what Measures would be necessary to prevent the Landing of the Teas. The Votes & Resolutions of that Meeting having been published we refer you to them. A committee of twelve persons were then appointed and eleven of them call'd on us on the 18th day of October & after reading to us said Votes & Resolves & leaving a Copy required our immediate resignation without allowing us any time to consider of an Answer. Much conversation passed between the Committee & us, a small part of which was by them committed to Writing & then they proceeded to Thomas & Isaac Wharton's & we believe made the like requisition of them as they had done of us. In the Evening a great number of people were collected at our Coffee House, expecting the Report of the Committee. They, for some Reasons best known to themselves & the Whartons' (we mean to keep closely to Facts) did not publish the Answer made by the latter, tho' taken down in writing, but made the following Report.

....The 19th of October Jon'n Browne came in from the Country and Upon the Committees' calling upon him (as he told us yesterday), they put many questions to him, to which he did not return satisfactory answers, but that he had at length agreed to the Answer made by T. & J. W. tho' the Words of that Answer were still kept from the Public,—

& it was well known that the Public had been led on to treat us with great severity at the same time that the Whartons were much applauded, on Acc't of our respective Answers. And notwithstanding our reiterated application to have a Copy of these Answers we have not as yet been able to obtain them. This is certain, they have been deem'd so full, that they T. & J. W. & J. B. have never been called on again.

From this time to the 3rd Instant we were exposed to much abuse. On that day we rec'd by the Post from N. York a Duplicate of the Instructions of the Court of Directors of the E. I. Company respecting the Teas they had shipp'd in the Ship Polly, Cap't Ayres, for this Port. It was soon made known that the Consignees were no longer in doubt as to their appointm't & that the Teas were coming out subject to the American Duty of 3 d. Stg. per pound. We had engaged that upon the arrival of the Teas & upon our being duly inform'd of our appointm't to the Agency, we would act openly & acquaint the public the part we would take. Upon this ground we were urged immediately to satisfy their impatience,--so that a very short time was afforded us to draw up & present to the public what we did, a Copy of which you will find annexed. It soon appeared that strong exceptions were taken to some parts of that paper. But what was said as to receiving & storing the Teas was from a motive we hope never to be obliged to depart from. Since that time we have not discovered any material alteration in the dispositions of the people of this City.

We have avoided mentioning our Colleagues more than was necessary to explain our own conduct & situation, yet it is but justice to ourselves to add that before our being applied to by the Committee on the 18th of October, the Agents did all seriously agree that they would not, if so required, resign until they had a full confirmation from England of their being appointed to this Commission & were inform'd under what circumstances the Teas were coming out. Their Reasons for delaying a definite Answer were these—That the people would have time to think coolly on the matter & afterwards be likely to determine with most prudence thereon, & also that if we should make so early & unreasonable a Resignation it would be sent forward & held up as a Precedent at N. York & Boston.

Thus far it seem'd necessary for us to relate that you might know what our Conduct has been & discern without our comments, the motives which have govern'd us. Conscious we are, that we have endeavor'd faithfully to guard our Fellow Citizens & ourselves from being led into any rash Measures that might hereafter Reproach us.

We sincerely sympathize with you under your late Tryals & wish you happily clear of them, being very respectfully,

Your assured Frds.

J.

P. S.

As we are not certain that our Colleagues will join us in a Letter to you, or write to you separately, we think it may be proper to add to the above, that one of the Agents, Gilbert Barkley, is expected from England in the Tea Ship, the Polly, Cap't Ayres, whose arrival may be hourly look'd for. At present it seems very unlikely she will ever come up our Bay & River. The Pilots, we have heard, will carefully avoid offering their assistance & the Capt. will be likely to hear so much of the Temper of the people here as to make him very cautious of coming into this Port.

To give you a specimen of some of our Publications, we have added a Copy of a Printed Paper, directed to the Delaware Pilots & Cap't Ayres, which we have been told have been distributed among the Pilots & that they will pay a strict regard to them. [See pages 48, 49.—Ed.]

December 17th, 1773. Copy of our Letter to Thomas & Elisha Hutchinson & others, Esqrs.

PHILADA., 18th of 12th Mo., 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

We wrote you the 16th Instant when we gave you our first tho'ts on your request to send down to Cap't Ayres when He arrives in our River, for the Goods your House shipp'd to different people here.

Since which we have frequently tho't further about it and our great regard for your House hath accompanied our Considerations thereon, & it now stands with us in this very serious View, that is, That in all Probability on the first Application to a Boatman he would refuse to be concerned and divulge it immediately, from whence many misrepresentations would flow which in a matter while the Peoples minds are so much agitated, would take many days to set right. But if the Boatman should undertake and succeed, (altho' we must Observe that thy Letter to the Capt., only desires him to deliver the Goods on his Arrival at this Port), the delivery to him would we apprehend discharge the Capt. and end the risque to the present [obscured] which otherwise would rest where it was, and we are not clear that the Goods would not be meddled with by the Multitude as there would hardly be a possibility of removing a jealousy which some of the People have not been clear of, that some of the Tea will be got on shore, and the poor men who had done it might, indeed we may say would, in all Probability, undergo hard discipline. The Order for all which would sooner or later be known to come from your House which we would wish to stand better than it then would with the People of this City, and all the Mischief arising from the Measure would by many of them be laid to you and us. Between us when we say that we are too well convinced to doubt that the least move on our part will be likely to produce a Train of Mischiefs which nothing but the fullest Conviction of Duty should lead us to

risque & if these Hints should carry conviction to you that it is best to let the matter rest & leave it to us if we see it can be done with safety (if the Ship arrives at this Port) to do it or otherwise let it alone at our best discretion, you will please to write us accordingly. And in meantime shall consider further on a matter we think of such very great Consequences to you and your

Very sincere & affect. Frds.

18th of 12th Mo., 1773. Copy of Letter to P. & Booth of New York.

New York, 20th December 1773.

Sirs,—

We have received your favour of the 16th current; and the same Post brought us a letter from our mutual friend Mr. J. D. which will require no immediate answer, if you will be pleased to tell him we have received it, and are satisfied with the contents. We are particularly obliged to you for the part you have undertaken, in which you have done more than we either desired or expected.

We gave you a false alarm last post, about the Tea Ship; it proved to be a Vessel in distress, which the Man of War had lent assistance to; but the report had gone thro' the whole Town, before it was contradicted. It is fortunate that she is not yet arrived, for on Friday last, the hot-headed ones would have a meeting at the City-hall, where it was carried by vote, amidst noise and confusion, to oppose the landing of the Tea; in the evening the Committee of the Association met, and divided in their opinions; one party was for a peaceable landing, the other was for opposing it. Upon which Philip Livingston, David Van Horne, Leonard Lisponard, Isaac Low, and indeed all the weighty members of the Committee, resigned their appointments, and another Association is set on foot, to preserve the peace of the City. The terms of this Association are now in the press. If the Copies are out in time, you will have one enclosed. This association will be signed by the members of his Majesty's Council, and all their Friends; indeed it behoves the Council to be very active in promoting it, for the Governor has declared that every man of them, together with the Mayor, the High Sheriff &c shall attend in person to protect the Tea while it is landed; and then, if a Military power should be necessary, they will be compelled to ask it, for their own security.

We are, Sirs,
Your most obed't Serv'ts
Pigon & Booth.

We should do so much honour to Gov'r Tryon's sentiments, as to mention this declaration of his: that it is not because the Tea belongs to the East India Company, that he is so anxious for its safety; but if it was

the property of a private person, and that person should be a Foreigner, utterly unknown in the British dominions, he is of opinion, that the Law of Nations, and the rights of humanity would demand his protection.

To

Messrs. James & Drinker
Merchants in
Philadelphia.

Post goes ¾ past 4.

New York, 20th Decem., 1773. Pigon & Booth to James & Drinker.

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12 Mo. 24th, 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

We have your two favors of 20th & 22nd instant. The Alarm which generally spread here, that your Tea Ship was arrived, we found fixed a belief in most, that the Tea would be deposited in your Fort. Now again, it is said by some, that the opposition gains head at your place and that the Tea when it arrives will certainly be sent back. This Post we look'd for with a degree of Anxious expectation, supposing we should hear the Terms of your second Association set on foot for preserving the Peace of the City, which we had reason to expect would be subscribed or assented to by the Worthy and Sensible Inhabitants of New York—Those who had no Sinister Ends to serve, but that of preserving the Peace and Reputation of your Province. Your silence on this head is a disappointment to us. As we have no intelligence of the Polly Captain Ayres, Conversation on this important Subject has flag'd for a few days past & wonderful to tell William Bradford was heard to say to a Pilot a few days past, that the Tea Ship ought to be permitted to come up.

The intelligence convey'd in your last is indeed astonishing, and must to every serious mind, viewing it in its present light and the Consequences of such an Act of Temerity & Injustice, be cause of deep concern;—and are these the Guardians of our liberties? Are they to be patterns & way marks for the other Colonies? Avert it Heaven.—But it may perhaps be said, who in the present instance, leap'd the bounds of Reason, Prudence & indeed common sense & led the way, was it Boston or Pensilvania?

We are your affectionate Friends.

24th of 12th Mo., 1773. Copy of letter to P. & Booth of New York.

[The tea ship arrived on the 25th of 12 Mo. Following is a copy of a bill of lading for goods which went back to London in her. T. B. T.]

Shipped, by the Grace of God, in good Order and Condition, by Pigon & Booth, in and upon the good

Ship called the Polly, whereof is Master, under God, for this present Voyage, Samuel Ayres, and now riding at Anchor in the River Thames, and by God's Grace bound for Philadelphia, to say
One Cask & Two Boxes of Merchandize and Thirty-Seven Baskets Cheese,
being mark'd and number'd as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and Condition, at the aforesaid Port of Philadelphia (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto Messrs. James & Drinker or to their Assigns, Freight for the said Goods being paid, with Primage and Average accustom'd. In witness whereof the Master or Purser of the said Ship hath affirm'd to 2 Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which 2 Bills being accomplish'd, the other to stand void. And so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in Safety. Amen. Dated in
Lond'n, 18. Sept. 1773.
SAM'L AYRES.

B O 1 ....Cask
S R 1.....Box
2.....Box
O 1 a 37-37 Baskets

PHILADA., 28th Dec. 1773

Gentlemen,

The 2nd Instant, Duplicate of your Esteemed Fa'r of 1st Oct. to Thos. & Isaac Wharton, Gilbert Barkley, Jonathan Browne and ourselves reached our hands & the 26th Original was handed to us by Gilbert Barkley, who we understand was to leave this City to-morrow morning in order to return on the Polly for London, but He has just now been with us to inform us that He must depart in two hours which does not leave us time by this Conveyance to write you fully on the succession of Occurrences which have pass'd here since the Resolutions of the Hon'ble East India Company were known to Export Teas to this & other places on the Continent for Sale.

The Result of which, as to this City, is that the People have determined that the Polley shall not come up, nor the Capt. be permitted to enter his cargo at the Custom House, but must immediately return to London. And we are under the disagreeable necessity to say that the People are & have been so unanimous in their Resolutions to that Effect that it was out of our power to Execute your Commission or Attempt to promote the Landing & Storing of the Teas with Security to ourselves or your Property, altho' we delay'd giving up that, to us, reasonable &

just measure as long as we could, but on the Arrival of the October Packet at New York & the Letters by her reaching this City, a great Number of the Inhabitants (not of a mean Class) collected together at the Coffee House & in a very disagreeable & preremtory manner sent to us for a Declaration of the Part we would Act, upon which we sent them a few Lines wrote in less time than we could have Wish'd had been allow'd us, a Copy of which we Inclose, and beg leave for the present to refer to the Public Prints & the information you will receive from our Frd. G. Barkley for the State of Matters amongst us concerning this to us very distressing Occurrence & remain with great Regard and Esteem

Your assured Faithful Frds.

The Hon'ble the Court
of Directors of the United Comp'y of Merch'ts of Eng'd
Trading to the East Indies.

Dec. 28, 1773. Copy of letter to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Co. Orig. per G. Barkley Esq.

PHILADA., 12 MO. 28th, 1773.

Esteemed Friends,

PIGON & BOOTH, New York.

The last post we wrote you a few Lines, soon after which we found Bradford publish'd the Acc't of the Destruction of the Tea at Boston & to our Surprise and great Concern the Church Bells were order'd to Ring and other public Approbation was shown at the Coffee House on the Occasion, and we have not learn'd that many people who Stir about much and Converse freely on Subjects with their fellow Citizens, express their disapprobation of it or seem apprehensive of disagreeable proceedings on the part of our Mother Country on that Account

The 25th Instant in the Evening an account came to the Coffee House that the Tea Ship was at Chester having follow'd up a Ship of much greater draft of Water, as the Pilots refus'd taking charge of the Ship, at which time the Committee were sitting who determined that next day several of them would go down and meet her and Enjoin the Capt. to send his ship down to Ready Island and require him at his Peril not to attempt to Enter at the Custom House, but allow him a few Hours to protest & be furnished with necessaries and then to follow the Ship and proceed back to London. While this was in Agitation Acc't came that the Ship was at Gloucester point, upon which a Number of the Committee went there follow'd by many people, where Chas. Thompson let the Capt. know the above determination of the Committee & took his Engagement that He would not attempt to Enter at the Custom House, and then bro't him up to this City and Yesterday a large number of People were call'd together in the Yard of the State House by Printed Notices & the Public Crier going thro' the City, when they entered into

THE LONDON COFFEE HOUSE (SEE PAGE 23)

certain Resolutions which we have not yet obtained Copies of, but they were in Substance that the Ship should Depart next Tide & Capt. Ayres this Day, & we are just now inform'd by Gilbert Barkley that He is determined to return in the Ship to London & Expects to go at 3 o'clock this Afternoon.

As the Ship was not admitted to an Entry, the Goods on board could not be landed, nor dare any man from all we have heard ask it.

We are now to set about writing a few short Letters to London by G. Barkley, & therefore our shortness by this Post will be excus'd by you. We learn that C. Bradford set off Yesterday with an Acc't of what was done, and to strengthen the Opposition to the landing the Tea with you. We need not say what would have been its Fate had it been Attempted here.

The foregoing was wrote the 28 when we Expected the Post would have been in that day, but the great fall of Snow, prevented his being here before last night between 9 & 10 o'clock when He bro't us the letters by the Nov'r Packet, but none from your house at New York, nor have we heard anything what measures are pursuing in your City since your last, save that the Association paper you told us was talk'd of, was sign'd by only Eight persons & that no more could be Obtain'd. We send Inclos'd the printed Acc't of the proceedings here, as it may be more easy & Agreeable to you to have them in that way than to wait until you can see the News Papers.

From thence you may Observe the unkind way in which the Committee or at least the Writers for the Public have treated us, which we must bear as well as we can, Conscious that none of them love their Country or desire its real prosperity & the preservation of its Liberties more than we do, and that their displeasure arises from our not immediately resigning our Trust & acknowledging the Rectitude of their Resolutions. We have been much concerned that your B. Booth may get well thro' this distressing business & Assure you that we are with best regards

Your affect. Friends.

December 28th, 1773. Letter to Pigon & Booth of New York.

New York, 31st Decem'r, 1773.

Sirs,—

We have received your esteemed Favour of the 24th current. We should have wrote you fully respecting the second Association, had not the news from Boston and Charlestown given so different a turn to people's sentiments, that it was impossible to write you on the subject without misleading you. We are now told that the Tea Ship will certainly go back, after being supplied with necessaries at the Hook; that the Governor will be advised by his Council, not to attempt the landing

of the Tea, as it will only tend to throw the Province into a Flame, without doing the India Company any essential service; and we have reason to believe there is good ground for this information. The friends of Government from all we can learn, have now given up the point; they would not wish to see its weakness further exposed by any unsuccessful attempts towards landing and protecting the Tea, without particular orders from home for that purpose. .The Opposition which they formerly considered as partial, and local, they now look upon as general, and Continental.

These Sentiments, which now seem to be generally embraced by the Council, appear to have been rather fondly and hastily taken up; to be sure their prospect was very unpleasing; they expected nothing less than to attend the Governor in landing the Tea, and until some of them had had their brains knock'd out by Stones and Brickbats, it would not have been thought expedient to call a Military force. For our part, we tremble to think of the consequences that may result from the apparent success of the opposition. Those who have appeared as Actors in it, are chiefly the outcasts of Society, and they have aimed at carrying all their points, by putting individuals in fear of their lives. Upon the same principles, fifteen or twenty Persons might give their notes of hand, or even coin false money and by distributing a share of it among a number of their dependants, they may give it a Currency and compell the people to take it, in opposition to all the powers of Government.

We are,
Sirs,
Your most obed't Serv'ts
PIGON & BOOTH.

To
MESSRS. JAMES & DRINKER
Merchants in
Philadelphia.

New York, 31st Dec'r, 1773. Pigon & Booth to James & Drinker.

PHILADA., 3rd of 1st Mo. 1774.

Esteemed Friends,

We duly rec'd your Fav'r of 31st Dec. and are Oblig'd to you for the Acc't you give us of the State of the times amongst you which are much as we Expected to have rec'd from the Acc't given us by the Public.

A report prevails here that the Tea Ship at South Carolina was entered at the Custom House and that it look'd likely the People would let it be landed—a Letter from Chas. Allen (a Young Man went from hence to Chas. Town) to W. Smith, the Broker, says so to that Effect, & that such prudential Considerations weigh'd with them, as, if it was Oppos'd an Additional Duty would be laid by the Parliament of G.

Britain on Rice & the bounty on Indigo withdrawn &c. &c. Much Concern is express'd on Acc't of this Prospect as it will not leave the thing so general on the Continent as was reckon'd on.

How does our own Conduct on the Whole stand with the Commissioners at N. York? If it is favorable would not a Line from them to the Directors to that Effect be what you would wish? & would it not Obviate the many cruel & Insiduous Misrepresentations given of it by the Opposition? Your B. B's Attention thereto will be taken very kind—and even his representation in our Fav'r as far as is Consistant (sic) with his Judgment will be very Obliging. We are with unalterable Regard

Your Assured Friends.

P. S. A Brig., Cap't Ashmead is to sail in a few days for London, say 6 Instant.

3rd of 1st Mo., 1774. Letter to Pigon & Booth, New York.

New York, 7th Jan'y, 1774.

Sirs,—

I had the pleasure to write you last Post, since which I have met the Commissioners, to write our Letters by the Packet; which we finished without much difficulty, but not without some altercation. I found the Letter to Captain Lockyer, was considered as a popular measure, and calculated to make us stand high in the favour of the people; not without an eye to the ensuing general election. To my great surprise and indignation, a Draught of it was produced ready for signing, wrote I conceive by a Presbyterian Lawyer, giving the Captain a long, ridiculous account of a combination, between the Ministry and the Company, to enslave America; a Copy of this Letter was to be sent to the Court of Directors, and strange to tell, my Colleagues were so far wrought upon, as to be induced to sign it. There was no standing this; flesh and blood could not bear it. To be short, I acted with so much spirit and resolution that I overruled every part of it, and confined the Letter to a short, plain and simple account of the facts, that have occurred on this side of the Water. * * * * * *

As I am not altogether satisfied with our last Letter to the Company, I have written one to Mr. Pigon by the Packet, with a view of it's being laid before them; this Letter I closed with the undermentioned paragraph, and shall be glad to find it meets with your approbation.

It appears by a moderate computation that each House here has given up 1000 Guineas per Annum, in resigning this Commission, which is no small sacryfice (?) and it sticks in our stomachs to such a degree, that we can barely speak of it with temper.

I am for F. Pigon & Self

Sirs,

Your most obed't Serv't,

Ben Booth.

Pigon & Booth, New York.

"Our friends Messrs. James & Drinker have been much abused in the Philadelphia News Papers, for refusing to be driven on with the Tide of popular clamour, contrary to their judgment; which they have thought it most prudent to take no notice of for the present; but the same paragraphs may be transcribed into the London News Papers, and give an unfavourable impression of their conduct; to prevent this, they have desired me to let you know the sentiments of the Commissioners here on this head. Without entering particularly into the subject, which is long and tedious, we think the whole of their conduct has been noble and manly, and such as would do them honour to come before any body of Men upon Earth, except an assembly of Madmen."

To

Messrs. James & Drinker
Merch'ts in
Philadelphia.

New York, 7th Jan'y, 1774, Benj. Booth to James and Drinker.

ADDENDA:—The following additional particulars relating to the ill-fated shipment of tea to Philadelphia are culled from the collection in Drake's "Tea Leaves,"—a copy of which may be found in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The great number of applications to the East India Company there recorded shows that the competition was keen for the appointments as tea commissioner and also for the transportation of the tea. T. B. T.

Letters from Fredk. Pigon, Jr., in London:—

Gentlemen;—

Being informed you intend to export teas to several different settlements in America, to be sold there under the direction of agents to be appointed, I beg leave to acquaint the Court that I have a house established in New York, under the firm of Pigon & Booth, and I humbly solicit the favor of that house having a share of the consignments.

Philadelphia being also a port to which the Company will most likely send teas, I beg leave to recommend Messrs. James & Drinker, of that city, to be one of your agents there.

Should I be so happy to succeed in my request I am certain the greatest attention will be paid by those gentlemen to the Company's orders, and that the Company's interest will be made their study in the sales and remittances.

I also beg leave to observe that if ships should be wanted for this service, I have vessels now ready for the ports of Philadelphia and New York.

I am, gentlemen,

Yr. most obed't & very humble serv't,
Fred'k Pigon, Jun'r.

Mark Lane, 1st June, 1773.
To the Hon'ble the Court of
Directors of the United East
India Company.

Tea Leaves,—p. 208-9.

London, 8 July, 1773.

To the Hon'ble Com'tee of
Warehouses—

Gentlemen:—

We beg leave to recommend Messrs. James & Drinker, of Philadelphia, to be one of your agents at the disposal of teas, which you may think proper to send to Philadelphia, undertaking that they shall dispose of such teas in no other manner than as you direct, on condition of your allowing them 5 pr. cent. for commission, for selling and making remittance, and 1 pr. cent. for truckage, warehouse rent or any charge whatever; should any teas get damaged on board of ships, any expence arising on them to be allowed by the Company. We do also engage, that in two months after the prompt day, remittance in bills or specie, shall be made to the Company, provided the teas are cleared, the specie to be at the risk of the Company, they paying the charges attending it. We further agree, that in case any bills are protested, we will pay the Company the amount of them in two manths after they become due. And we are willing to enter into bond for the performance of the agreements, provided the Directors think proper to allow the teas to be sent to any other port, if the Pensilvanians refuse to admit the duty to be paid, or to consume them in that country, in the latter case our bond to be void.

We are, &c.

Pigon & Booth.

Tea Leaves,—p. 232.

We beg leave to solicit the
freight to Pensilvania.

Sir:—

Please to acquaint the Hon'ble Com'tee of Warehouses that we have taken up the Polly, Cap't Ayres, for Philadelphia, to carry the Company's

tea to that port, which vessel lays at Princes Stairs, Rotherhith, and was built at Ipswich, in the year 1765. She is now ready to take in.

We are, sirs,
Your most h'ble serv'ts,
Pigon & Booth
For selves & Geo Browne,
Sam'l Wharton & Gilbert
Barkley.

Mark Lane,
31st Aug., 1773.
Mr. Wm. Settle.

Tea Leaves,—p. 254

The cargoe of tea aboard the "Polly":—"Freight of 568 whole & 130 half chests of tea shipped on the Polly, Capt. Sam'l. Ayres, for Philada." "9405.3 ft. @ 1 s. 6 p. pr. foot Phila. Currency, is L 705-7-10½."

Tea Leaves,—p. 256.

TO THE
Delaware Pilots.

WE took the Pleasure, some Days since, of kindly admonishing you *to do your Duty*; if perchance you should meet with the (*Tea,*) SHIP POLLY, CAPTAIN AYRES; a THREE DECKER which is hourly expected.

We have now to add, that Matters ripen fast here; and that *much is expected from those Lads who meet with the Tea Ship.*----There is some Talk of A HANDSOME REWARD FOR THE PILOT WHO GIVES THE FIRST GOOD ACCOUNT OF HER.----How that may be, we cannot *for certain* determine; But ALL agree, that TAR and FEATHERS will be his Portion, who pilots her into this Harbour. And we will answer for ourselves, that, whoever is committed to us, as an Offender against the Rights of *America*, will experience the utmost Exertion of our Abilities; as

THE COMMITTEE FOR TARRING AND FEATHERING.

P. S. We expect you will furnish yourselves with Copies of the foregoing and following Letter; which are printed for this Purpose, that the Pilot who meets with Captain *Ayres* may favor him with a Sight of them.

Committee of Taring and Feathering.

TO

Capt. AYRES,

Of the SHIP *POLLY*, on a Voyage from *London* to *Philadelphia*.

SIR,

WE are informed that you have, imprudently, taken Charge of a Quantity of Tea; which has been sent out by the *India* Company, *under the Auspices of the Ministry*, as a Trial of *American* Virtue and Resolution.

Now, as your Cargo, on your Arrival here, will most assuredly bring you into hot water; and as you are perhaps a Stranger *to these Parts*, we have concluded to advise you of the present Situation of Affairs in *Philadelphia*---that, taking Tme by the Forelock, you may stop short in your dangerous Errand----secure your Ship against the Rafts of combustible Matter which may be set on Fire, and turned loose against her; and more than all this, that you preserve your own Person, from the Pitch and Feathers that are prepared for you.

In the first Place, we must tell you, that the *Pennsylvanians* are, *to a Man*, passionately fond of Freedom; the Birthright of *Americans*; and at all Events are determined to enjoy it.

That they sincerely believe, no Power on the Face of the Earth has a Right to tax them without their Consent.

That in their Opinion, the Tea in your Custody is designed by the Ministry to enforce such a Tax, which they will undoubtedly oppose; and in so doing, give you every possible Obstruction.

We are nominated to a very disagreeable, but necessary Service.---- To our Care are committed all Offenders against the Rights of *America*; and hapless is he, whose evil Destiny has doomed him to suffer at our Hands.

You are sent out on a diabolical Service; and if you are so foolish and obstinate as to compleat your Voyage; by bringing your Ship to Anchor in this Port; you may run such a Gauntlet, as will induce you, in your last Moments, most heartly to curse those who have made you the Dupe of their Avarice and Ambition.

What think you Captain, of a Halter around your Neck----ten Gallons of liquid Tar decanted on your Pate----with the Feathers of a dozen wild Geese laid over that to enliven your Appearance?

Only think seriously of this----and fly to the Place from whence you came----fly without Hesitation----without the Formality of a Protest----and above all, Captain *Ayres* let us advise you to fly without the wild Geese Feathers.

Your Friends *to serve*

THE COMMITTEE *as before subscribed.*

Philadelphia, Nov. 27, 1773

NOTES AND QUERIES.

QUAKER MEMBERSHIP OF BENJAMIN WEST.—This question does not appear to be settled to the satisfaction of all. That he was not a member was owing to the fact that his parents were not members at his birth and no application for membership was ever made for or by him. His mother was disowned about the time of her marriage and his father did not become a member until long after the son's birth. It remains to explain why he claimed to be and was willing to be classed as a Friend. In this respect he was like many at the present day. His relatives were Friends and he was doubtless brought up in the attendance of their meetings, and so had no affiliations with any other sect. I have frequently been told by persons that they were rightfully Friends because, as they thought, their parents were such, when I knew that the latter were merely attenders of the meetings for worship, of the Society.

GILBERT COPE.

BENJAMIN WEST.—As a contribution to the discussion as to whether or not Benjamin West was a Friend the following copied from "A Book for a Rainy Day," p. 90, is interesting. Benjamin West said: "Sir, I was once a Quaker and have never left their principles."

I. S.

"A BOOK FOR A RAINY DAY."—This book was written by John Thomas Smith (1766-1833) who was "Keeper of Prints and Drawings" in the British Museum, 1816-1833. He was the author of several works, the best known are "A Book for a Rainy Day," 1828; "Nollekens and his Times," 1828; "An Antiquarian Ramble in the Streets of London," published after his death, and edited by Charles Mackay, in 1846. He was a topographical draughtsman and antiquarian. He occupied a prominent position in the literary circles of the London of his day. ED.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—The statement in the last Bulletin (p. 124), that "birthright membership was not recognized officially by Friends until 1737," may cause misapprehension on the part of the casual reader. While there may not have been any authoritative declaration on the subject yet the practice of the Society was in favor of the idea of birthright membership. As early at least as 1715 testimonies of disownment set forth that the offender was "born of believing parents," thus giving that as the foundation of his or her membership.

The subject is worthy of study. My conclusions are that during the times of persecution there

was no need to question the membership of any who were willing to bear the suffering and opprobrium resulting from their attendance of meetings; and for many years after those who attended and appeared concerned to uphold the testimonies of Friends were gradually looked upon as members without any formal application or admission. Then followed applications not minuted and later their entry on the minutes of monthly meetings. Friends welcomed the attendance of any persons at their meetings for worship, and as children were not expected to attend meetings of business their membership was not questioned. The following examples are from records of meetings belonging to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

At Kennet Monthly Meeting, 11 Mo. 7, 1726:—"The preparitive meeting of Newark recomends John Carlton to this meeting for a privilidge of one to sitt in the meeting of business which is allowed."

This is the first minute of the kind in Kennet. The first noticed in Chester appears 5 Mo. 29, 1728, and in Goshen 7 Mo. 11, 1732; but at Chester the minute is preceded by this statement:—"Whereas this meeting have not been in the practice of entering those upon record that makes application to be Joyned to and come under friends Care now takes the same into Consideration & unanimously agree that an entry be made of those that make such application."

I do not remember any applications for membership by those whose births were recorded by Friends except in two or three cases where the child was removed to another meeting while small. On the other hand there were numerous disownments of the children of members, some of them minors, whose previous membership was thus recognized, as early as 1710.

Our whole church policy is the result of a gradual evolution from a chaotic beginning.

In former times it was not thought proper that the laity should read the Bible, and there has been much of the same feeling in regard to the records of Friends. I would like to see the minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, and of other Yearly Meetings printed for one hundred and fifty years at least.

GILBERT COPE.

HANNAH FEAKE.—On page 45, Vol. 2, of the *Bulletin*, mention is made of the marriage of John Bowne to Hannah Pheaks; her name was Feake.

Henry Winthrop married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Jones, of London, in 1629, and was drowned in Boston harbor the same year. His widow married Robert Feake, who afterwards moved to Watertown, Conn.: they had Elizabeth, who married Captain John Underhill, and Hannah, married to John Bowne, of Flushing.

CHARLES COLLINS.

New York, 14-12-08.

Hannah Feake, or Feaks, or Feeks, or Pheaks.—Our correspondent in the note above, hardly gives sufficient weight to the erratic spelling of the day. The author of the paper on "John Bowne of Flushing" (Vol. II, No. 2) undoubtedly found the spelling he gave among the family papers; he was a careful student and investigator, and was, moreover, himself a descendant of Hannah Feake (or Pheaks). There is in the possession of the Editor the Marriage Certificate of Isaac Hornor and Eleanor (Bowne) Hornor, daughter of Samuel Bowne, dated Flushing, "the ninth day of ye Eight monyth [October], 1718." Among the witnesses is "Abigail Feeks." In the body of the document Eleanor appears as "Elenar" and also as "Elener," and Hornor as "Horner" and "Harner." There is a strong probability that the "Abigail Feeks" was of the same family as the wife of John Bowne.

Editor.

A Quaker Marriage about 1817.—[The Diary of Lady Charlotte Bury is a gossiping, rambling account of the Court and fashionable society during the reign of George IV. While it is not very reliable in many points, it gives a lively picture of society and throws much light on the time. It has long been out of print, but a new edition has recently appeared (1908) and has excited considerable interest. It is quite evident that the memory of the narrator has been imperfect, for several essential details are omitted. As the account of an uninstructed outsider it is worth reprinting.—Ed]

"Mr —— also told me that a great proportion of his tenants are Quakers, and not the most peaceably inclined set of people. I asked him about their customs, and he gave me an account of a Quaker's wedding: 'It is a mighty *humdrum* business. The meeting-house is always crowded, all the FRIENDS being assembled whenever one of their sect marries. There is no pulpit, but where it is usually situated stands a small table, with a green cloth and an inkstand. The bride sits between the bridegroom and her mother, with her face so concealed that it cannot be seen during the ceremony. She usually wears a pale gray gown, a cap, and a white shawl, with a large veil thrown over her head and face. After sitting *mute* for three quarters of an hour, one of the "friends" is generally moved by the Spirit, and ejaculates accordingly. The couple then take one another by the hand, and sign a paper, after which one of the congregation says a prayer and the ceremony is concluded. The Quakers in my neighborhood,' he added, 'are all very rich and powerful; but a sad radical set in their political opinions.'" (December 12, 1817.)*

*"Diary of the Times of George the Fourth," etc. (commonly known as Diary of Lady Charlotte Bury). Vol. 3: 277 278. London, 1839.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF BENJAMIN CLAPP.—This will was dated February 20, 1726-7, and was proved August 13, 1727, in Westchester County, New York. Among the items is the following: "I give to my friends called Quakers, the sum of £10 towards the building of a meeting house, [at Purchase?] which meeting house is to be built between John Clapp's and Benjamin Bercham's, on a piece of land already layed out for that use." [Benjamin Clapp appears to be the fourth in descent from George Gilson Clapp the original emigrant who came to America in 1666 or 1667.] Collections N. Y. Historical Society, 1902, p. 45.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF HUGH COWPERTHWAIT OF FLUSHING, N. Y.—"Dated this 28 day of the second month, called April, 1730." Proved June 3, 1730. One of the witnesses was John Bowne.

"I leave to Joseph Rodman, Thomas Farrington, and Samuel Bowne, £100, in trust for ye use of ye Poor amongst Friends (commonly called Quakers) in ye Province of New York. To be paid after the marriage of my wife or within one year after her decease. And the said sum is to be put out at interest for the said Poor, and to be continued at interest forever..I leave to my cousin, Abram Shotwell, my youngest mare. Also George Fox Doctrinal Book [Works], and one of William Sewells Histories....I leave to Richard Seaman, one of Barclay's Apologies. I leave to John Rodman, George Fox, his Great Mystery, and Books of Epistles. I leave to Silas Titus, William Penn's No Cross No Crown. I leave to Hannah Ryder, my Sewel's History, in three parts.....If my wife should marry, she shall give security for the sum left to the Poor." Collections N. Y. Historical Society 1902, pp. 107-109.

EARLY HISTORY OF NEW JERSEY.—"The Province of New Jersey, 1664-1738, by Edwin P. Tanner, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Syracuse University, N. Y., 8°, 712 pp. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1908, $4.00. This portly volume is of great interest to all who wish to study the political experiments of Friends in East, and West, New Jersey. Penn's liberal and statesmanlike views are very apparent in the "Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors," and there is no doubt that his experience in the Jersey plans was of the greatest assistance to him in his Pennsylvania enterprise.

Dr. Tanner's volume, issued under the auspices of the Columbia University, New York, is packed full of information gathered from many sources, and put in a shape easy of consultation. All students of this part of American colonial history will feel grateful to him. The references to individual Friends, and to their connection with the provinces are numerous, full and sympathetic. The book, however, is one for the student, not the general

reader, for it is in no sense popular, and the style is not very attractive. The author states that "the chief object of this study is to give an account of the political institutions of New Jersey during the period of her executive union with New York," but in doing this it has been needful to cover a wider field, for which many will thank him.

The Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, held on the evening of First Month twenty-fifth, 1909, in the Committee Room of Twelfth Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, was largely attended.

Reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee, and the report of the Nominating Committee were read.

The President called attention to the fact that the annual membership dues of One Dollar each did not amount to a sufficient sum to meet the expenses of the Society, and invited those who were interested in its maintenance and the further development of its usefulness, to forward additional contributions to the Treasurer.

Samuel N. Rhoads read an interesting paper on Haddon Hall, Haddonfield, New Jersey, the home of Elizabeth Haddon Estaugh, and the scene of much hospitality and entertainment to visiting Friends from England and elsewhere.

His account of the different structures on this site, and description of many events connected with them were much appreciated.

There were on exhibit several interesting pictures of Haddon Hall and its surroundings, the marriage certificate of John Estaugh and Elizabeth Haddon, and a deed of John Haddon. A large square brick and an oblong brick of ordinary size were shown as types of those used in Haddon Hall.

The President, Isaac Sharpless, then presented a valuable paper, giving an Estimate of the Character of William Penn.

He felt that the few weak points in William Penn's character, such as his failure, at times, to judge of the abilities of the men selected for positions of trust, were entirely overbalanced by the excellency of other traits in his character.

His far-seeing policies in regard to government and education, his unswerving adherence to the principles and beliefs of the Society of Friends, his courteous demeanor and his humility, all of which tended to make him a marked man, among his contemporaries, were enlarged upon.

The erroneous impressions made by several recent writers on the life of William Penn, make this paper by President Sharpless, particularly timely and valuable.

M. S. A.

The BULLETIN is indebted to the *American Friend* for the illustration of The First North Carolina Meeting House, and to a member for that of the London Coffee House.

OFFICERS OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

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Vice-Presidents, Jonathan Evans, Abby Newhall.

Secretary-Treasurer, Mary S. Allen, 142 N. Sixteenth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

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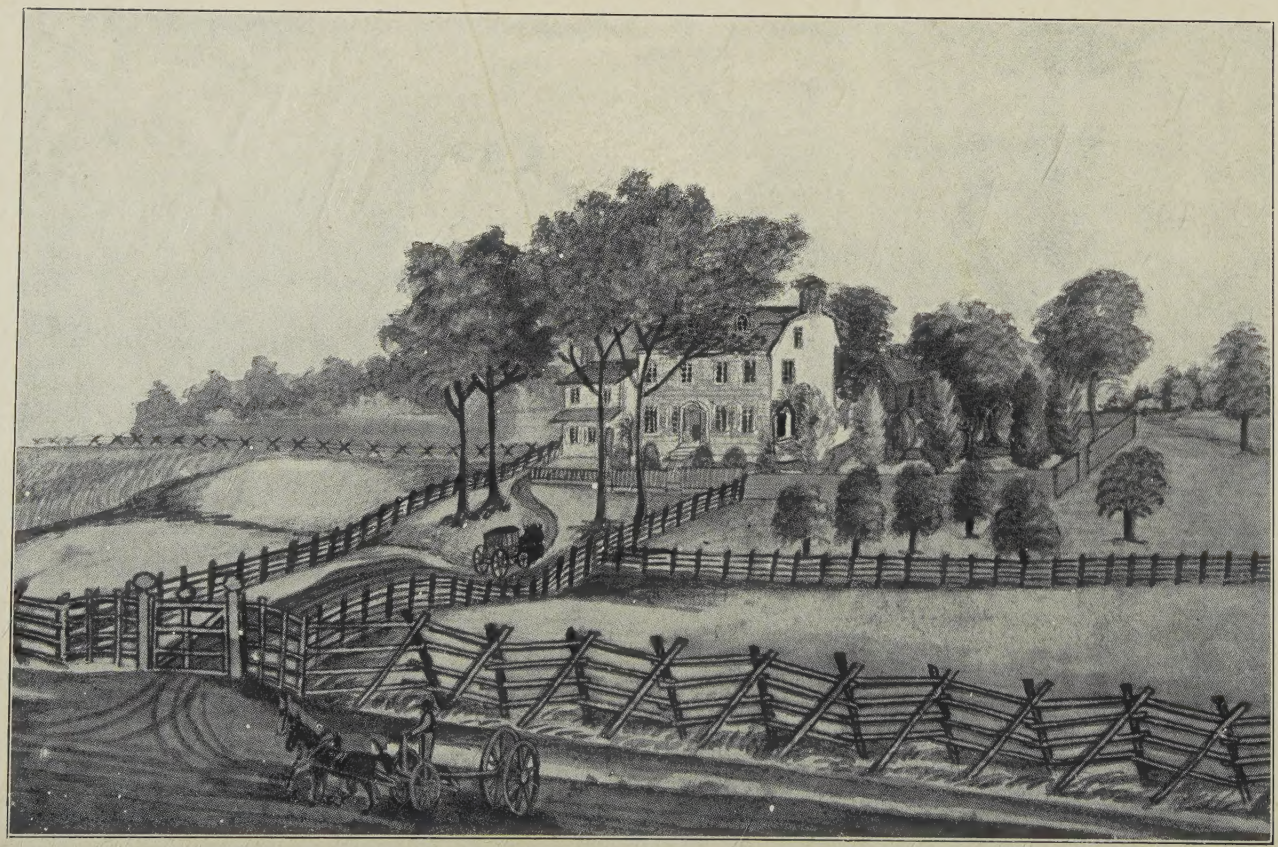

HADDON HALL OF HADDONFIELD—BUILT 1713; BURNED 1842